

The Philanthropist.

PUBLISHED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OHIO ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JAMES G. BIRNEY, AND

We are verily guilty concerning our brother *** therefore, is this distress come upon us.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, EDITORS.

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THE PHILANTHROPIST.

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POETRY.

Washington City Prison.

BY ELIZABETH M. CHANDLER.

Thou dark and drear and melancholy pile!
Who seemest, like a guilty penitent,
To brood o'er horrors in thy bosom pent,
Until the sunbeams that around thee smile,
And the glad breath of heaven, have become
A hatred and a mockery to thy gloom—
Stern fabric! I'll commune with thee awhile
And from thy hollow echoes, and the gale
That moans round thy dark cells, win back the tale
Of thy past history—give thy stones a tongue,
And bid them answer me, and let the sighs
That round thy walls so heavily arise,
Be vocal, and declare from whence they sprang;
And by what passion of intense despair—
What aching throb of life-consuming care,
From the torn heart of anguish they were wrung.

Receptacle of guilt! hath guilt, alone,
Stain'd with its falling tears thy foot-worn floor,
When the harsh echo of the closing door
Hath died upon the ear, and flinging prone
His form upon the earth, thy chilling gloom
Seem'd to the wretch the sentence of his doom—
Say, bear'st thou witness to no heart-wrung groan,
Bursting from sinless bosoms, whom the hand
Of tyrant power hath sever'd from the band
Of the earth's holiest and dearest things,
And thrust amidst thy darkness? Speak! declare
If only the rude felon's curse and prayer,
Mix'd with wild wail and wilder laughter rings
Within those dreary walls—or if there be
No spirit fainting there with agony,
That not from their own crimes, but foul oppression
springs.

Ha! am I answer'd!—in that startling cry,
Bursting from some wild breast, with anguish riven,
And rising up to register in heaven
Its blighting tale of outrage—the reply
Was heard distinctly terrible.—It sprung
From a sad household group, who wildly clung
Together, in their frantic agony,
Till they were torn by savage hands apart,
Fond arms from twining arms, and heart from heart,
Newer to meet again! what had they done,
Thou tool of avarice and tyranny!—
That they should thus be given o'er to thee,
And thy guilt-haunted cells?—were sire and son,
Mother and babe, all partners in one crime,
As dreadful as the fate that through all time,
Clings to them with a grasp they may not shun!

No!—let the tale be spoken, though it burn
The cheek with shame to breathe it—let it go
Forth on the winds, that the wide world may know
Our villainies, and the rudest savage turn
And point, with taunting finger, to the spot
Whereon thou standest; that all men may blot
Our name with its deserved taint, and spin
Our vaunting laws of justice with the heel
Of low contumely; that every peal
Of triumph, may be answer'd with a shout
Of biting mockery; and our starry flag,
Our glorious banner! may, dishonor'd, drag
Its proud folds in the dust, or only float
The gales of heaven, to be a broader mark
For scorn to spit at—Oh, thou depot dark,
Where souls and human limbs are meted out,

In fiendish traffic—no! those weeping ones
Have done no evil—but thy brother's hand,
Hath rudely burst the sacred household band,
And given, with heart more flinty than thy stones,
His victims to thy keeping, and thy chains,
Till he hath sold them!—they within whose veins
Blood like his own is coursing, and whose moans
Are torn from hearts as deathless as his own!
And there thou stand'st—where Freedom's altar stone
Is darken'd by thy shadows,—and the cry,
That thrills so fearfully upon the air,
With its wild tale of anguish and despair,
Blends with the peans that are swelling high,
To do her homage!—have sometimes felt
As I could hate my country for her guilt,
Until in bitter tears the mood went by.

From the Youth's Magazine.

The Negro Slave's Prayer.

God of mercy, God of love,
Hearst thou the negro's prayer?
Will that voice ascend above,
Will it be accepted there?

Wilt thou from the lofty skies,
Lowly bend the listening ear?
Wilt thou from thy throne on high,
Deign, the negro's woes to hear?

Can the tawny darken'd skin,
Dim the Spirit's holy light?
Can it quench the fire within,
Can it robe the soul in night?

No! within this lone heart's cell,
Fond affections linger still;
And within this bosom dwell,
Thoughts that gush like mountain's rill.

Father of the heavens and earth,
At whose mighty voice and nod,
Chaos started into birth,
Owning thee their chief and God.

Thou who, from the Egyptian bands,
Ancient Israel's bondmen freed,

Oh, stretch forth thy mighty hand,
O'er lone Africa's child of need.

Still the same that then thou wast;
Still the God, that then was there;
Thou canst save when almost lost,
Thou canst cheer amid despair.

Our foundation shall be strong,
As the "Everlasting Rock";
Whilst thy kind protecting arm,
Circles round thy little flock.

Then to thee, my soul shall turn,
There to find eternal rest,
Where the holy tapers burn,
Round the altar of the blest.

Where the heavenly vault doth ring,
With the praises of the lamb;
Angels there forever sing,
To the holy, great "I Am."

May I join and sing thy praise!
Ah! the ascending smile I see,
Whilst thy heavenly lips doth say,
"Mourner, come and rest with me."

Jesus, Lord, thy voice I hear,
Gladly will I follow thee;
Light the cross that now I bear,
Easy will the burden be.

Welcome then, my griefs and woes,
Welcome then, the scourge and rod;
Lighter still my sorrow grows,
For my soul is stay'd on God.

JOSEPHINE.

Fall Creek, 10th Month, 23.

SLAVERY.

From the Church Advocate, (Lexington.)
Religion among Slaves.

The greatest unkindness which an intelligent man can practice towards an ignorant being, is to keep him in ignorance of himself, and of "that knowledge which maketh wise unto salvation." Knowledge is power, and virtue, and happiness, and wealth; it is the handmaid of religion; it is the source from which all our purest enjoyments proceed. The eminent Locke says, that "happiness consists in what delights and contents the mind." The eagerness with which knowledge is sought after by our parents and legislators, shows that it is duly estimated. Man, without a knowledge of the laws of God, and of himself, is a poor, weak, superstitious creature; a slave to unholy lusts; a prey to the most degrading passions. Ignorance is the prolific mother of vice, and all the abominations which stalk abroad in the earth; it begets in the minds of its wretched victims a distrustful feeling towards fellow-men, which no strength of argument can remove, no power of reasoning overcome; it is incompatible with happiness, and is the most successful opposer of religion and godliness. It is, therefore, the duty of all men, of Christians especially, to diffuse as much knowledge as possible, particularly of God and his laws, among the human family; for the soil of ignorance is uncongenial to Christianity and to all that is amiable and lovely in the character of men.

There are in the United States two and a half millions of people, who have drunk the very dregs of the cup of ignorance; who are in the "bonds of iniquity" and degrading superstitions; who know not the laws of God nor comprehend the institutions of men; who are enslaved by carnal lusts and licentious practices; who are, comparatively, strangers to social endearments and the bliss of domestic enjoyments; who are proscribed by public opinion without crime, punished without guilt, having families without marriage, and life without liberty; who live in the midst of Christians without exciting compassion or enlisting sympathy; who have eyes and see not, ears have they and hear not; understanding have they and understand not, the things that relate to their peace. Verily—

"There is no mercy in mankind,
No source of sympathy, to which
The sad may turn."

Need I add that these people, for whose moral and intellectual improvement so little has been done, are the negroes! and that our holy religion teaches that God has made of one blood all the nations of the earth? Christians should be "the light of the world;"—in our country, this "light shineth in darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not."

Whether this is the fault of the Christian or negro, is for the reader to determine. This scene of degradation and wretchedness is occasionally interrupted by a prospect, which, like an Oasis to a weary and exhausted traveller, gladdens the eye and encourages the hope, that better things are in store for these benighted people. Sunday schools and other means of enlightenment are being instituted for their benefit. I am proud to say, that in our parish, a Sunday school for the improvement of these people has been in operation for some time, and has been attended with the most cheering results. In the male Bible class we have seen the hoary-headed man of ninety and the boy of fifteen "search the Scriptures" with eagerness, and receive instruction with docility. Schools might and should be established for the religious instruction of the negroes, wherever the church exists.—We have many inducements to labor for them; they are quick to perceive, eager to learn, and unusually grateful to those who manifest an interest in their welfare. Our State contains many schools, the object of which is to benefit the negroes, though many more are yet needed. I entreat my fellow-laymen of every clime and section, to "assist in a work which is so full of promise." The church expects every man to do his duty. Old and young, male and female, all who have been baptized, are exhorted to engage in the enterprise. The strong holds of Satan are to be broken down, worldly prejudices removed, the ignorant guided into the paths of truth, the vicious reclaimed, the wavering confirmed, the weak strengthened, and Christianity extended, by Christian exertion. Come then, ye sons and friends of the church, let your actions in future correspond with your professions. Come ministers and people "with one consent," and "the powers of darkness" will be overturned, the sin-bound soul released from its captivity.

*We have been informed that some good people in a far famed Eastern city, are "conscientiously opposed" to teaching negroes to read. Can this be so? Our Mayor requires all persons, to whom colored persons are bound, to teach those orphans to read and write.

ty, and the minds of a wretched and long-neglected people directed to the cross of that Saviour, who died that all might live. That our Heavenly Father may teach us his will, and enable us to discharge our duty to all men, is and shall be the prayer of a
KENTUCKY CHURCHMAN.
Louisville, Ky., Sept. 16, 1836.

Louisville Journal on Slavery.
From the Louisville Journal.

Slavery is a moral evil, because it "violates all our notions of natural justice." The conscience enables us to distinguish right from wrong; it is to the moral, what the judgment is to intellectual powers. The intellect investigates; the conscience decides. The conscience is constantly exercised in distinguishing good from evil; right from wrong; it teaches unequivocally, that we have no natural right to deprive a fellow-being of his personal liberty, the proceeds of his labor, and to consign his progeny to endless, hopeless, cheerless servitude; when consulted, it protests most solemnly against such usurpations. The master has, therefore, a continual struggle within himself, between interest and conviction, which ceases only with the dissolution of the relation of master and slave; if victory side with interest, a moral desolation is the consequence; the noblest principle of the bosom is offered on the unallowable shrine of Mammon. Avarice, having prostrated the conscience, conducts its victim, regardless of right, through the quagmires of injustice and oppression, and even employs force, if necessary, to sustain its mad career. The distinguished statesman of Kentucky, Mr. Clay, did but utter the conviction of every honest heart when he said that "slavery violates all our notions of natural justice."

Slavery is a moral evil, because it degrades human beings almost to a level with the beasts. The human mind is actuated by two classes of motives: the hope of reward, and the fear of punishment; these constitute the incentives to action. Under the guidance of the former, in a virtuous community, an individual endeavors to merit confidence, that he may receive the approbation and encouragement of the wise, the good, and the influential. Stimulated by the hope of reward, we pursue knowledge with unwearied constancy, and patiently await the appearance of that

"Tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at its flood, leads on to fortune."

The distance of the reward, the difficulties to be surmounted, the privations to be incurred in attaining it, are so many discouragements, but they occasion no despondency. In the hour of trial and difficulty, hope sustains and animates, till the pleasure of pursuit is merged in that of possession. The subject of fear knows no such encouragement; he is a negative character; to avoid pain and punishment is his study: if he can evade detection, he hesitates not to commit crime; for his moral faculties, neglected and undeveloped, are no restraint to passion, to ill-will, to covetousness, to envy, and to malice. Slaves are governed by fear; their moral faculties are uneducated; their intellects shrouded in ignorance, and their whole nature abandoned to sensuality. Strangers to the nobler impulses of humanity, they are as little elevated above the beasts, as is possible for rational beings, surrounded by the blaze of intellectual light. Slavery reduces human beings to this wretched condition; furnishes but one incentive to action, the fear of punishment; and degrades its victims almost to a level with the beasts.

We shall address no other arguments. Our object was to show that slavery was a moral evil, afflicting both master and slave, without exhibiting the extent of the evil; to produce conviction, without exciting feeling; to advocate the interest of all, without injuring any. We commend the political and moral influence of slavery to the attention of all whom it may concern. It is a subject worthy of thought and reflection. If an evil, it is present with the most deleterious consequences; if a good, a thing desirable, it should be known and understood. Convinced that it is evil, we shall endeavor, ere long, to show that colonization is an adequate and a proper remedy.

Gov. McDuffie's Plantation.

Extract of a letter, dated Abbeville District, S. C.
Oct. 28, 1836.

Seeing some time ago an article copied into the "Chronicle," speculating upon Governor McDuffie's abilities and probable success as a planter, I am induced to offer you the following remarks, which you are at liberty to publish if you think proper.

Gov. McDuffie this year makes a splendid crop of cotton, and a large surplus of provisions. He has already picked out 200 bags, weighing 350 pounds each, and will in all probability make 150 more. His force this year is not so large as usual, several hands having been sent to the Vaulseuse factory, and others are engaged in different business.—This crop will be made and saved by fifty efficient hands. Thus it will be seen if the estimate I have made of the crop proves to be correct, (and I am sure it will be very nearly so), each hand will make seven bags! This is the best crop the governor ever made, and very much to his credit as a planter. It is the first crop he has had the management and control of since the commencement of his congressional career. The order, neatness, and systematical arrangement of his plantation, are admirable; and the careful attention which he gives to the comforts of his negroes generally, and particularly to their cabins, is deserving of all praise.

"Very much to his credit as a planter," to get the most he can out of his slaves at the least expense.

Here we have presented before us, in figures, the glaring fact that the slaves cannot take care of themselves! Fifty slaves, besides raising all necessary provisions, produce for Gov. McDuffie about 120,000 lbs of cotton, which is worth in market, twenty thousand dollars; that is, each laborer earns four hundred dollars, in products to be sold. Fifty dollars a year is the most that the Gov. will be obliged to expend for each laborer, besides the provisions which they themselves raise; thus the poor slaves support themselves, and leave of their earnings, seventeen thousand five hundred dollars for their master. And yet we are told that if we would have Gov. McDuffie emancipate his slaves, we should in justice compensate him. If he were to emancipate his slaves this moment, he would want them all on his own plantation. He might hire them on terms so that they should not be at an expense to him of more than 250 dollars each, and they would earn more than they do now. Thus he would derive an income from them of at least 7,500 dollars, which our New England farmers would call a pretty handsome income.

N. E. Spectator.

"The slave system inflicts an incalculable amount of human suffering, for the sake of making a wholesale waste of labor and capital."—Harriet Martineau.

SPIRIT OF SLAVERY.

The Tender Mercies of Slavery.

The following is from "a Refutation of the calumnies circulated against the southern and western states, respecting the institution and existence of slavery among them"—written by a South Carolinian, Edward C. Holland, Esq., published in Charleston, 1832:

"We look upon the existence of our free blacks among us, as the greatest and most deplorable evil with which we are unhappily afflicted. They are, generally speaking, an idle, lazy, insolent set of vagabonds, who live by theft or gambling or other means equally vicious and demoralizing, and who from their general carriage and insolent behavior in the community, are a perpetual source of irritation to ourselves, and a fruitful cause of dissatisfaction to our slaves. Our slaves, when they look around them and see persons of their own color enjoying a comparative degree of freedom, and assuming privileges beyond their own condition, naturally become dissatisfied with their lot, until the feverish restlessness of this disposition foment itself into insurrection, and the 'black flood of long retained spleen' breaks down every principle of duty and obedience. We would respectfully recommend to the legislature, therefore, the expediency of removing this evil, and rooting it out of the land. A law, banishing them, male and female, from the state, under the penalty of death or of perpetual servitude upon their return—or placing such a tax upon them, as from its severity, would render it impracticable for them to remain among us—is desirable.—Either of these modes presents a feasible and easy method of clearing the country of this detestable caste. The example of a sister state (Georgia) in this latter particular, gives us a wholesome lesson of instruction. Our philanthropic brethren at the North and East, will no doubt, afford them an asylum, and we have every disposition to get rid of them. Under such a dispensation, therefore all parties might be satisfied. Should the necessity of such an expedient appear obvious to the legislature, we ought, in common humanity, to see that their departure from our shores should be attended with every necessary comfort and convenience. All appropriation of funds, therefore, to meet the exigencies of such an event, and to provide for those who might be incapable of providing for themselves would be necessary. If we are compelled from our situation, to pass over some of the more rigid and fundamental principles of abstract justice, let the encroachment be made with as little individual distress as possible."

Slaveholding Philanthropy.

There is a set of men in the world, and, we are sorry to say, of women, too, who are never satisfied unless they are engaged in doing what they call the "works of charity,"—i. e. putting the affairs of a man's household into confusion. We allude more particularly to that clique of preachers, who, of late years, have come among us in the South, preaching in our houses, and putting every thing into disorder—talking their tom-foolery to our wives and daughters, and so turning their heads, that, instead of attending to their domestic duties, they are, during the day, out in every hole and corner, dunning their neighbors for money to be applied to some wild notion in India or Africa—and setting up till midnight making jackets for the poor "heathen heathen," who never wore or wanted a thread above their ribs; while their own children and servants are left to shiver in rags. And besides, a man can hardly put his foot out of his own doors, or go into church to worship and pray, without being assailed by these beggars for charity's sake, and mult in constant contributions to support some wild scheme—or feed some phantasm of this philanthropy run mad. And he must do all this too upon trust, and make no questions whether the Idol of Baal or his priests devour the daily offerings.—These people are nuisances.

Another tribe of these intermeddlers in other people's concerns, who labor for love and not for money is of the abolition school. Their philanthropy must be engaged—let what will come of it. The Lord hath called them to the work, say these blasphemous hypocrites, and they must gird up their loins and be doing. They have no business of their own, except to intermeddle with the business of others. Though murder and burning follow, their philanthropy stalks on in the world with its calm puritanical face perfectly unconcerned. We commend to them one of the grievances mentioned below in italics.

These various evils spring from a perverted source—from truth falsified by self-love, and the lust of domination. When the word of the Most High is regarded only in the letter, and religion is made to consist in externals, in long faces, and long prayers—and an entire exemption from the business of this world—it is no wonder that the evils of hypocrisy and idleness should come upon us.

U. S. Tel.

Putting on the Screws.

We learn by the Philadelphia Chronicle that ordinances of great severity against free negroes and mulattoes have just been promulgated by the corporation of Washington. All free colored persons are obliged to have their title to freedom recorded and to give bonds, renewable yearly, with five good and sufficient freehold securities, in the penal sum of \$1,000, for their good and orderly conduct, under a penalty of \$20, and an instant departure from the city, on the order of the Mayor, or imprisonment for six months, on refusal. By the third section the Mayor is prohibited from granting licenses to any person whatsoever for colored persons, except to drive carts, drays, hackney coaches, or wagons. The fourth section prohibits colored persons from selling all kinds of spirituous or fermented liquors, either on their own or on another's behalf, or from keeping "any tavern, ordinary, shop, porter cellar, refectory, or eating house of any kind, for profit or gain." The fifth prohibits private meetings of any kind, and meetings for religious worship, after ten o'clock at night. Colored persons staying after this hour at any such meeting, shall be liable for every offence to a fine of five dollars—and police constables who shall neglect or refuse to disperse the same, render themselves liable to a fine of fifty dollars, and become incapacitated from holding office under the corporation for one year.—Liberator.

The New Orleans Bee, of the 14th October, says: "The slave who struck some citizens in Canal street, some weeks since, has been tried and found guilty, and is sentenced to be hung on the 24th inst."

That is, for one man in Louisiana to strike another under certain circumstances, is DEATH! These "certain circumstances" are
1st The man must be black,

2d He or his ancestors must have been stolen from Africa, and forcibly brought to this country.

3d He must be retained in slavery against his will.

Under these circumstances, if he be found in Louisiana, (and he cannot leave it if he would,) and there strike a white man, he must hang. No matter what the provocation may be. The white man might have been trying to tear his child from the bosom of its mother, to carry it from his sight for ever, or attempting to ravish his wife before his eyes, no matter; if he raises his sacrilegious hands to strike the white wretch, he must expiate his crime on the gibbet.

Now we have this alternative to present. Either such a law as this is necessary to sustain the system of slavery or it is not. If it be not necessary, then what shall we think of that community which enacted it, and if it be necessary, then what shall we think of the system itself, and those who support it!

O, my country, my beloved country; what wilt thou do when God shall come to make inquisition for these things!—Alton Obs.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

New York Observer in 1833.

We take the following article from the Observer of April 6th, 1833. In republishing it we wish to inquire, first, whether the points so "fully established" by "evidence before the House of Commons' committee" have not been still more fully established by the experiment, in those islands where the experiment was fairly tried; and second, whether Mr. Morse has yet taken pains to inform his readers what the results of such experiment, so "serious" in its "effect on the southern states" have actually been? What has he yet done to induce them "to follow the example?"—Ed. EMANCIPATOR.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

"The following remarks on immediate emancipation, are from the London Christian Observer, for February. If it is true, as is here stated, that there is abundant evidence, first, 'that the slaves, if emancipated, would be industrious and maintain themselves,' and secondly, 'that the dangers are greater from freedom withheld, than from freedom granted,' then it is certain that they who have the right to legislate on the subject, are bound, on christian principles, to order the immediate liberation of the slaves within their jurisdiction; for the only valid argument in support of slavery, is, that the good of the slave, and the safety of the community, would be hazarded by immediate emancipation. It has been evident, for some time past, from the tone of the English papers and magazines, that public sentiment in Great Britain was rapidly tending to the at which it has now arrived, and we think there can be but little doubt that the people and the government of the mother country will soon resolve upon the experiment of a total abolition of slavery in the British West Indies. Such an experiment must produce a serious effect upon the southern states of our Union. If it should succeed, as its friends anticipate, our southern brethren, we trust, will be induced to follow the example. Meanwhile, it becomes northern abolitionists to abstain from every thing calculated to irritate the feelings, or in any way to retard a consummation so devoutly to be wished.

Another important and pressing question for legislative consideration, is the best means of terminating West Indian slavery. Its extinction is a matter settled and irrevocable; & no man who consults either private conscience, or public opinion, will venture to re-open this part of the question. The only point that remains for the legislature to decide upon, is the best practicable means of arranging the detail of emancipation in a spirit of justice and mercy, both to the master and the slave. The evidence before the House of Commons' committee of last session has fully established the two following points; first, 'that the slaves, if emancipated, would maintain themselves, would be industrious, and disposed to acquire property by labor'; and secondly, 'that the dangers of emancipation are greater from freedom withheld, than from freedom granted.' An elaborate and most valuable analysis of this evidence has been published by the Anti-Slavery Society. The evidence before the House of Lords' committee has also been ably and accurately analysed by a writer under the name of Legion, in a letter to the Duke of Richmond, the chairman of the committee, and tho' the writer's style is not to our taste, yet the matter which he details is of great value. The proposers of that committee little foresaw what an exposition they should be compelled to make of the atrocious system which they had hoped to whitewash and decorate in holiday colors. Of evidence we have now a superfluity; there remains, therefore, but one duty—to strike off the fetter in the safest and speediest manner possible. But this last effort will yet require a giant arm; for the hydra of slavery has never yielded without a powerful struggle; and so far from thinking that the friends of the slave ought to sleep at their posts, we would, alarm them to new and unwonted energy; more especially in urging upon the parliamentary representatives in their respective vicinities the duty of zealous aiding this great work of Christian justice and mercy. The society of Friends are, as usual, active in the cause; and they have just issued a most impressive, affecting, and Scriptural Appeal to their fellow-Christians in its behalf. The Evangelical dissenters, in the solemn services of the day, which they lately set apart for prayer and thanksgiving to God on account of the abundant harvest, and the deliverance from the cholera, devoted a marked portion of their attention to the sorrowful sighing of the captive in our colonial possessions. Let not the members of the Church of England be the only portion of his Majesty's subjects who regard with indifference the affecting appeal of nearly a million of men made of one blood with themselves, and imploring, both for body and soul, deliverance from that inhuman oppression in which they are at present held.

The case of the emancipated bondmen of South Africa, furnishes a striking illustration of the ease and safety with which a large body of degraded and disaffected serfs may be transformed to loyal and rapidly improving free citizens. On the promulgation of the emancipating ordinance of 1828, this class of men were liberated at once from the iniquitous laws, regulations, and disabilities by which they had been placed under the foot of the white colonists; and the predictions of those who maintained that they would generally betake themselves to vagrancy and robbery were completely falsified. Some of the farmers, who in their day of power had treated these people like dogs, complained that, owing to their refusal when freed to continue in their service, they, "the Christian men" were obliged to drive their own wagons, and send their children to tend their own flocks—the latter task being considered in that country too servile for white men to perform. All the crimes, too, which occurred in the provinces, were

ascribed to the free colored class; and though the official reports of the circuit courts of justice told a somewhat different tale, a violent outcry was raised on this topic for a considerable period; and a revocation of the obnoxious ordinance was clamorously advocated, as a measure imperatively required to save the white colonists from ruin.

Happily for the Hotentots and the colony, these preposterous clamors were not listened to by the home government; and the local powers had no power to act on their own discretion. The obnoxious ordinance was allowed to take effect; and, after a time, the fierce vituperations and sinister predictions of the "South African Patriots," as they termed themselves, subsided. Their hostility was not extinguished; but the quiet and orderly conduct of the neglected Hotentots left them without any rational pretext for their avowal. The general condition of these emancipated bootless, after four years of freedom, is described in the most glowing terms by very competent witnesses.

GUBERNATORIAL.

Virginia—Abolition.

Extract from the message of Wyndham Robertson, Lieut. Governor of Virginia, [December 5th, 1836.]

In discharge of the duty enjoined on me, by the Constitution, to exhibit to you, on your annual meeting, the condition of the Commonwealth, and to recommend to you such measures as may seem to me expedient, I proceed, in the first place, to invite your attention to such external concerns as appear most materially to affect that condition, and most strongly to demand your attentive consideration.

The most prominent of these, is that most extraordinary spectacle which modern times have witnessed and which still is exhibited, as for some years past it has been, in the Northern States, of bands of organized conspirators, gravely in broad day, sitting in judgment on the domestic and peculiar institutions of the Southern members of this confederacy—holding up their citizens as objects of execration to all the earth—denouncing their constitutions and laws as iniquitous, impious, and of no force, and insolently resolving never to relinquish their efforts till these institutions and laws be overturned—to that end, employing money, appointing agents, disseminating false and inflammatory publications, and inviting the whole world to join them in their mad and mischievous crusade. And we see this, not in a hostile, or even neutral land, but under the eye and protection of States, bound up with us, in many respects, as one people, in a league the closest and most fraternal in its spirit and provisions, and in its sanctions the most sacred, that ever yet united sovereign powers.

I wish, for the preservation of this interesting and invaluable bond, for the sake of peace and true humanity, that it were in my power to announce to you the subsidence of this ill-boding fanaticism; but I regret to say, neither such information as I have been able to obtain, nor the occurrences of the year, authorize such an assurance. Deaf to entreaty, despising admonition, impenetrable to all appeals, unabashed by rebuke, and unmoved by the denunciation of all wise and good men throughout the Union, these incendiaries continue, regardless, as they avow themselves, of consequences, zealous to promote their design, and constantly to increase their numbers. The "handful of fanatics," as they were justly described but a few years ago, now boast their five or six hundred affiliated societies, numbering not less than fifty thousand members. Still, for themselves they too insignificant to challenge notice, yet the fact that neither be disguised nor denied, that through their secret assassin-like emissaries, and the noiseless circulation of their incendiary publications, they have it in their power, unless arrested by just and necessary laws, to scatter through the South, seed that must ripen, sooner or later, into a harvest of blood and desolation.

Already we begin to experience a foretaste of the bitter calamities which are to follow in the train of this most unwarrantable and unprovoked interference with our exclusive concerns. That free and cordial intercourse between the people of the South and the North, which with our improved means of communication, was rapidly increasing with the happiest effects in allaying natural prejudices and misconceptions, and in strengthening the ties which bind us together, is already threatened with serious interruption by reason of the notorious and too often successful attempts of abolitionists, spread every where along the principal routes, to deprive by seduction or force, the citizens of the Southern States, of their travelling domestics, their property, by as high sanctions as any they hold, and often have a moral value, independent of, and far beyond any they may possess, growing out of mutual attachment, as mere property. Recently, too, it has been decided by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, that a slave, voluntarily taken into that State by his owner, loses at once his character of property, and becomes to all intents free—a principle which, if indeed it exists, has at least lain dormant for half a century, and is, doubtless, now, for the first time, exerted to activity, by the mischievous influence of abolition doctrines. Accordingly, a citizen of Louisiana has had his slave wrested from him, recently, in that State, in the name, and under the sanction of law—and altogether without compensation. Thus we see a doctrine asserted, by which the property of our citizens may be confiscated without remuneration, whilst the Federal Constitution and that of our own State provide that private property shall not be taken but for public use, nor then without a full equivalent. The proposition asserted in the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, if not in violation of the provisions of the Federal Constitution, at least runs directly counter to the spirit of those compromises and that entire reciprocity in the protection each member of the Confederacy was to afford to the rights of the citizens of every other, which was the breath of the nostrils to that instrument, and the observance of which, inviolate, is the sole band of its preservation. And none can doubt, that had the precise question, now involved, arisen in the convention of 1788, a refusal to protect, in this particular right, citizens of the South passing through, or temporarily sojourning in the non-slaveholding States, would have put an instant end to all hope of effecting a Union. Should the decision adverted to, be sustained, and no provision be made by Massachusetts to protect our citizens in the rights it invaded, it is equivalent to a prohibition of all social intercourse between the families of the Southern portion of the Union and the State—(an intercourse which every where demands full reciprocity for its preservation)—and cannot but engender dissatisfaction and complaint, and ultimately produce alienation of feeling and hostility between those whom interest and the remembrance of common sufferings and common triumphs, ought to unite in bonds of the closest intimacy.

Nor are these obstacles to harmonious intercourse between the South and the North, the only consequences that have already flowed from this pestilential fanaticism. Its votaries infect the purities even of the tribunals of justice, and in the very cases, especially guarded by the Constitution itself, instead of promoting the faithful maintenance of its provisions, as the duty is of every good citizen, exhaust ingenuity, and are prodigal of money, in seeking to defeat their execution—and failing in this, not infrequently resort to force, to wrest, with strong hand, from the owner, property adjudged to him by the laws. While, on our North-Western frontier, frequent instances occur, of citizens of other States assuming the privilege that entitles them to come over the border, by actually instigating slaves to leave their owners, and assisting them to escape—thereby rendering the tenure of that property insecure, and materially lessening its value.

But, extending their views beyond these proceedings more directly affecting individuals, these agitators, through a treacherous and insidious measure, seemingly confined to the District of Columbia, are, in truth, levelling a deadly attack against the property and peace, nay, the political existence itself, of the Southern States; an attack, of which it may be enough to say, that if it cannot be parried, it must be repelled.

The unhalting attempt to array the sanctions of that pure and gentle religion that teaches "peace on earth and good will toward men," in fierce hostility against communities, that, have at least, done them no wrong, is to be added to this dark catalogue of the doings of these modern philanthropists. And we already hear, in the distance, denounced against the slave-holder, the thunder of that only description of excommunication tolerated by the spirit of the age—a refusal of religious fellowship on the earth—and the ignominious mutterings forth, in mad assumption of the attributes of the Most High, of the anticipated judgments of the Almighty.

Such are the evils already experienced from the spread of abolition doctrines, and which I have felt it my duty to bring to your notice because some of them have been developed only since your last meeting, and the rest decidedly aggravated—themselves of a magnitude well deserving the attention of the Legislature—they yet dwindle into insignificance, in comparison with those dire calamities with which this pestilence insatiable threatens our country, and which it is the highest duty of every friend of the Union, and of free institutions, of peace and of true philanthropy, to strive to avert.

Alas! these impending dangers, and in discharge of their high responsibility to the Commonwealth, the last Legislature of Virginia, after the fullest consideration, addressed resolutions to the non-slaveholding States, requesting them to adopt measures effectively to suppress abolition

societies and arrest all publications dangerous to our peace. Without concert, but from similar views of the evil, and of the remedy, the Southern States, all about the same period, adopted a similar course. The States of New York, Maine and Ohio, have alone, up to this time, responded to the request addressed to them, in communications which I have now the honor to lay before you. No opportunity has as yet, it is believed, been afforded to the Legislatures of other States to act upon the subject. The views of the two former are so far satisfactory as they recognize, in effect, the right of our part to demand, and on their duty to grant, in the case shall arise, legislative protection against all acts of their citizens, tending to disturb our peace or assail our institutions. Ohio, admitting that interference by the people of one State, with "the internal regulations of another, is improper and dangerous," yet declares she has "no power to restrain the publication of private opinion, on any subject whatever." But all so far concur, as to decline at this time to grant us that legislative protection demanded at their hands. Exposed more immediately as we are to the disastrous consequences of abolitionism, and alone possessed, from position, of the means of correctly estimating them, or of judging how they might best be obviated, it was difficult for us, with our clear view of the mischief and the remedy, as well as of the imperative necessity for applying it, to suppose that a request so just and reasonable, could be refused. Yet the refusal to comply with it, manifested by the States referred to, and such other means as we have of understanding the present state of public opinion at the North, justify the conclusion, that that opinion is, for the most part, averse to adopting the only course that can give contentment to the South, because the only one compatible with its safety.

It is impossible that this aversion could exist, except from an inadequate appreciation of the indispensableness to our tranquility of the course recommended to their adoption, or from some delusion they labor under as to their right to pursue it. The two-fold prejudice which the States appealed to have to encounter, in adopting any measure that may serve, in the least degree, to countenance the system of slavery or abridge the freedom of the press, as well as the sincere desire we cherish to preserve our present happy relations—recommend to us, undoubtedly, in urging on them the performance of what we consider as their plain duty, patience and forbearance, to the uttermost point, compatible with those overruling obligations which demand of us to protect the public peace and fire-side security of our citizens, and to vindicate the respect due to us as an independent State, against all aggression, and at whatever hazard.

In pursuance of this respectful and conciliatory policy, it behooves us to use every means in our power to acquaint them with our true condition, to possess them of the importance of the question between us, and to remove a decision pregnant with consequences which no friend of his country can contemplate without shuddering. Now, while opinions are unsettled, and when it may be easier to impress truth on the mind, than hereafter to convert it from error—when the late absorbing political contest being terminated, no disturbing cause, it may be hoped, exists at home, to affect that singleness of purpose and harmony of action, which the welfare of Virginia imperiously demands—now seems the proper time to make the endeavor.

To this end, and believing as I do, that this question, more than any that ever has come, or ever can come, before the American people, is fraught with the direst calamities to the country—indeed, that our very life and just determination hangs our destiny as a free, happy and united, or a distracted and harassed people—I respectfully submit to your consideration the expediency of addressing, without delay, to the non-slaveholding States, a solemn Memorial and Remonstrance, exhibiting the high and inviolable character of the rights which are invaded—the evil effect of such intermeddling with them, both on the master and the slave—the peril into which it brings the Union—the necessity that exists for the adoption by them of the measures requested to be taken—the intrinsic propriety of the measures—and, especially, disabusing the public mind of the fatal error that power is wanting in any government to punish injuries inflicted by its citizens on those of another—and appealing to them in the name of justice, humanity, freedom, peace, and an imperilled Union, to afford a protection deemed so indispensable to the South, and which it is their imperative duty to grant. When this shall have been done, we shall stand acquitted before the world of the high responsibility we are under to do all in our power to arrest, if possible, the career of a fanaticism, whose march unchecked, is over violated faith—the disregarded rights of the South—the wreck of the Union—and the prostrated cause of Liberty itself.

REMARKS.

It seems to us, that no sober-minded and intelligent person can read the above without indulging reflections somewhat like these:—

How unbecoming is such language in the first officer of a State in making his regular communication to the Legislature. Such communications are intended as the basis of some legislative action. Therefore, they ought to be dispassionate, exempt from every influence of passion, and so correct in their statements that they may, in all time to come, be confidently referred to as sources of information on all subjects of which they treat. In a few years more, when the Spirit of Liberty shall be triumphant over Oppression, how misplaced and unbecomely will the following language appear—"pestilential fanaticism,"—"treacherous and insidious measure,"—"mad and mischievous crusade," &c. With what surprise, too, will we recur to a Governor's Message, in which the advocates of the Constitution are branded as "agitators"—"a handful of fanatics," and as "bands of organized conspirators." If they (the abolitionists) have violated any law, their small number and their unpopularity would ensure their punishment.

How inconsistent are slave-holders in the application of their own doctrines. Virginia reduces one third of her population to the most deplorable bondage to the other two thirds. In this inhuman measure, there must be no foreign interference—no, not so much as to talk or write about it, or to examine its agreement with Rectitude or good Policy. Massachusetts protects the liberty of all her population—yet, it is not unbecomingly in a Virginia Governor publicly and officially to pass sentence of condemnation on her, and to ask of a Virginia legislature some action against her, for having faithfully executed her own laws; and this, too, in a case of a citizen of the state of Louisiana claiming one under the protection of Massachusetts as a slave.

Again, says acting Governor Robertson, in the social intercourse of the states, "full reciprocity" is demanded for its preservation [the Union]. This is doubtless true. Has it been observed by Virginia—by any part of the South? Whilst the Virginia gentleman, after having sold some half a dozen members of his family, to raise money to enable him and the more favored members of it to take their summer jaunt to the northern cities and watering-places, demands that the protecting power of the Constitution and Laws of every State through which he may pass be suspended for his special convenience in taking with him his train of "travelling domestics"—what does Virginia, what does the whole South do, to discharge the duties of "full reciprocity?" Let the imprisonment of the citizens of Massachusetts, when they go to the South in the prosecution of a lawful business, not for crime, but because they are not white—let the eight months' incarceration of Crandall—the scourging of Robinson—of Dresser—the ruffian degradation of Kitchell—the untold executions of defenceless and innocent strangers from the free States—let Ferocity exulting over the down-trodden safeguards of their own Constitutions and Laws—over the rights of Hospitality, the claims of Humanity—let all these, yet unexpiated, stand as monuments of the honorable fidelity with which Virginia and the South have rendered to the North the dues of that "full reciprocity," they now so strenuously demand.

Further, no one can help remarking the arrogance with which the demands of the slave-states are made on the free. This, however, is almost always the case when demands are unreasonable. But their governors and legislators seem to think, that there are no limits to legislative power in the free states—that there are either no barriers erected for the security of the liberties of the citizens,—or that they may be innocently trampled on, whenever the preservation of slavery calls for it. It would seem to us, only a common office of respect, when one state demands of another her equal, a course of action, unusual, rigorous, and penal against her own citizens, that she should, with becoming courtesy, first ask to know, whether the conduct complained of is such as can be punished or restrained, consistently with the laws of the state in which it has taken place, and of whom the demand is made. But no courts

of this kind is exhibited; the free states are almost ordered to incorporate in their penal codes the bloody requisites of slave-holding governors and legislators. But what makes their demands so thoroughly insulting, is, that they know they are asking a set of enactments that call for the utter disregard or the overthrow of those fundamental principles of liberty which are altogether above the reach of our legislative assemblies. Can it be predicated of a Virginia, or a South Carolina governor or legislature, that they are so ignorant of the constitution of Ohio, as not to know that its legislature have no power to stop our citizens from speaking, writing and publishing their thoughts on any subject they may select? Can they have forgotten that the Press among us is yet free!—That its freedom is secured by the fiat of our PEOPLE? That they will not surrender it, till they are ready to add themselves and their children to the ranks of those who are already enslaved? No: These things they know. It is this which adds malignity to the insult. The slave-holders have destroyed the liberty of the press among themselves; they have locked the lips of all within their own limits, who would remind them of their injustice; they have broken down every thing like personal security to any of their own citizens who would call for reformation; they have, in effect, nullified and trodden under foot that great barrier against despotism, the right of trial by Jury;—and all for what? For Slavery. They look on the liberty of enslaving innocent men, and women, and children, as the most precious of all liberties. On the altar of this divinity they have offered, as a holocaust, their own high constitutional and civil rights—and now have the audacity to ask of us a similar obligation to their bloody God.

And what is the penalty with which they menace a refusal? They will secede from the Union. Let them do it. They have been, long enough, a charge on the sober and industrious of the parish. It is time they were dismissed, when, instead of support, they are beginning to demand that the whole estate should be delivered over to them. No: they could scarcely be driven out of it. They have too much sense for this. Their hectoring is sed by the success which has followed it. It was only for them, on being denied, to cry out "we'll dissolve the Union," and straightway the North gave them all they wished. Why should they desist, when their fever is thus fed? They will not, till the North shall firmly and calmly say to them—dissolve then as soon as you please: Then they will be found as gentle as the zephyrs. Not till then.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

CINCINNATI, DECEMBER 30, 1836.

More Cincinnati Petitions.

We had the pleasure of transmitting by the mail of yesterday, additional petitions for the abolition of slavery, in the District of Columbia, signed by one hundred and forty-eight of our citizens.

It is in vain for our representatives to say, the people shall not be heard on this subject.

How Abolitionism May Be Considered a Political Question.

It is important to determine correctly to what extent and under what aspects, abolitionism is a political question. In the main it is doubtless a purely religious scheme; and so impressed with this belief have our enemies been, that they have charged with hypocrisy those abolitionists, who have qualified their political preferences by their abolition views. The charge is unfair; for though the truths on which abolitionists found their system, the reasons they offer for their course, and the objects at which they aim, are essentially religious, yet in certain circumstances, owing to the very nature of some of those objects, and to the obligations arising from those truths, it becomes their religious duty to resort to political action.

The nature of this action and of the circumstances under which it becomes a duty, we may easily learn from a few statements.

The leading object of northern abolitionists is, the extinction of slavery in the slave-holding states of the Union. Of course, all legislation on the part of the north for the attainment of this end, whether by northern legislatures or congress, is utterly out of the question. Any political action then in the case, would be as unjust, as it would be disastrous. On this principle abolitionists act, without hypocrisy abjuring every species of operation, which is not essentially and purely religious. In relation therefore to slavery as existing in the states, abolitionism is simply a religious movement.

But, slavery exists in the District of Columbia; it exists in some of the Territories; and the domestic slave-trade is tolerated by law. Over all these evils, congress has full power to legislate. The north to the extent of its representative force, is responsible for their continuance. If there be crime in allowing them, the north shares largely in the crime. Abolitionism, while it scrupulously refrains from advocating resort to legislation, where there is no legislative power, hesitates not to insist upon the full exercise of any such power, when granted, if it can avail to the removal of evil. Congress has rightful power to emancipate all slaves in the District, to abolish slavery in the territories, and prohibit the domestic slave-trade. If these are crimes, national crimes, as abolitionists believe, the duty of congress is to act at once. Abolitionism demands that it put forth its power. Sin sanctioned and sustained by law is to them, still sin. In the judgment of this world, the number of the perpetrators may lessen the criminality of an action. Abolitionists would judge righteous judgement. They know of nothing so wonder-working in associated, systematic action, as to destroy accountability. Wrong is wrong, sin is sin, though ordained and sanctioned with all the pomp and circumstance of legal enactment. The individual escapes not the eye of God by mingling with the crowd. Though he is but one among millions, who uphold iniquity, God searches him out and holds him individually accountable. As no individual can substitute his word for the word of Jehovah, his decisions for the decisions of Infinite Justice; so no number of individuals, however great, or by whatever name called, whether church, state, conference or congress, can make that right or excusable, which God has pronounced wrong, can make silence and inaction a duty, where God has commanded the truth to be spoken and acted.

Slavery in the District and Territories, and the domestic slave-trade are under the control of political action: by political action alone can they be terminated. They are tolerated by a government, which derives its powers ultimately from the people, of whom abolitionists constitute a portion, and in the directing of the powers of which, abolitionists have a share. It clearly then devolves on them to interfere in a political way for the removal of these evils: non-interference would be criminal. It would be tacitly consenting to wickedness, when it was in their power to interpose righteous action. Religion does not destroy a man's political duties, any more than it sets aside his social relations. As it has provided laws for the regulation of the latter, so it determines and enforces the former. Government, we have been taught by our religion to believe, is an ordinance of God. There can be no crime in participating in that which God has ordained. The sin is, that good men should give their voice in favor of bad rulers. Duty is plain on this point. It teaches that the religious man

should withhold his suffrage from any one, who will use the powers of office, to injure the interests of religion.

The course of abolitionists is no less obvious. As legislators, let them use all their influence and give all their votes, for the redemption of the nation from the national sin of oppression and cruelty. As voters, let them withhold their votes, from any man or set of men, who, they are convinced, will give their countenance and voice to the continued toleration of slavery in the District, slavery in the Territories, and the Domestic slave-trade. We are component parts of a nation, that is guilty of upholding an oppressive system, guilty of the crime of withholding from thousands of human beings, their inalienable rights, and of consenting unto a traffic, which elsewhere it has judged worthy of death. Religion enjoins it, as a special political duty, to protest without ceasing against the evil, and this we do, when yearly we petition congress on the subject. But is our duty yet done? Is there no other way in which we can exercise our political rights, to effect this national regeneration? If there is, will the Almighty hold us guiltless, if we do nothing more than petition? The truth is, the same principle which commands us to petition for the removal of these evils, commands us to vote for no candidate, who will in any way contribute to their continuance.

If the command be disobeyed, it seems to us undeniable, that we are just as much guilty of slavery in the District of Columbia, slavery in the Territories, and the Domestic slave-trade, as if actually engaged in the perpetration of those wrongs. Where is the consistency in petitioning against an evil, and yet giving our vote to a man, who, if elected, will turn a deaf ear to the petition, and still continue the evil?

Again—In the persons of abolitionists, incalculably precious rights have been invaded—rights inherent in the individual, and independent of all human government—rights which the constitution has taken special care to secure. So transcendently important to the individual and community, are the rights to personal security and freedom of discussion, that the establishment of these rights beyond all cavil and contradiction, all question or invasion, is one of the first ends of all good government. The enemies of abolitionism, by their infatuated measures, have identified it with the maintenance of these rights. Personal security, liberty of the press, liberty of speech, and the doctrine of immediate emancipation, are now parts of the same cause, must now stand or fall together. Abolitionists are in fact trustees of almost all that is now valuable in our civil institutions, of heaven-derived endowments, the loss of which would overthrow the entire nation. Circumstances have compelled them to stand forth as the defenders of the constitution, on those very points, which a few years ago were accounted almost invulnerable. High duties press them. To make good the defence, no method, which christianity will sanction, should be left untried. Political action is again demanded. No right should be relinquished; but rather, every advantage that the constitution and laws hold out, should be pushed to the utmost against the lawless assailant. Abolitionists have done but half their duty, when they have simply maintained their own rights. When the law is vindicated, and its arm stretched forth to punish the transgressor; when those who have put their foot on the constitution are taught by due punishment, that such transgression shall certainly meet with its just recompense of reward, abolitionists have done their duty, but still not their whole duty; they have done that which the good of the entire community demanded at their hands; but the good of the nation requires still more. It demands that we should throw the whole weight of our influence against the election to any office of trust or power, of that man, who has been so rash, so weak, or wicked as to assail the rights of personal security or free discussion. Him, who has dared to call in question the sacredness of these rights: him, who has speculated on them as mere creatures of the social compact; him, who has affirmed they may be set aside, when the public good requires it; him, who has actually and with violence assailed his brother for the free and fearless exercise of the liberty of the press and of speech; him, who under pretence of a regard to the public peace, has been guilty of acts, leading to so flagrant aggression; him, who excuses, justifies or connives at such aggression;—mark, as a political heretic—brand, as a traitor to the cause of universal liberty, and on no account, unless on full assurance of repentance and conversion, ever give your countenance or voice to such a man, when he would seek for office. How can you give him your vote and sin not? Is he not an enemy to what you value as the gift of God, and as essential to the well-being and advancement of the community? If you bestow on him your suffrage, do you not contradict and dishonor your own principles?

It is feared that many in our ranks do not appreciate the full value of the great end which abolitionism contemplates. We hesitate not to say that, even independent of the extinction of slavery in the states, its objects far transcend in importance all the schemes and purposes of existing political parties. It is no easy task to determine, what great principles these parties are now seeking to maintain or establish. To an impartial observer, principle, would seem to have little connexion with their movements, either as the source or end of action. Personal partialities, motives of interest, names without meaning, and attachments without reason, are for the most part the bands of our political organizations. The party in power, seeks to retain it, for the sake of the offices: their antagonists seek to gain it, for the sake of the offices.

But let us concede to party distinctions all the importance, which is claimed for them. Let us allow that the doctrines, concerning a national bank, internal improvements, a tariff, monied monopolies, a loose or rigid construction of the constitution, are all great questions: still it may be affirmed, that none of them involves any moral principle; all are questions of political expedience, and the importance of all has been greatly exaggerated. Look now at the principles of abolition; consider it only in its political bearings. It aims to remove the chains from six thousand human beings, and re-instate them in rights of which a cruel policy deprives them; to redeem the nation from the guilt of oppression and hypocrisy; and to maintain unimpaired, rights, without the protection of which no country can be free or prosperous. In proportion then as moral truth is more excellent than political expedience, justice and mercy more glorious than human prudence or policy, honoring God by obedience more praise-worthy than seeking honor from men; as the right to discuss and the right to be secure in our persons, are of far more value, than any scheme for promoting the wealth or power of the nation; so is abolition, even under the confined view we now take of it, of far more importance than any system of merely political tenets, whether they be those of Democracy or Federalism, Whiggism or Republicanism.

In view of these facts, we cannot understand how any man, fully baptized into the spirit of abolitionism, can for one moment suffer his duties as an abolitionist, to be defined and trammelled by his political predilections. In all cases where his ordinary party partialities and his abolition principles come in collision, the latter should assume the supremacy.

Let us not mistake. I shall not be greatly moved.

Abolitionism, A Revival.

Abolitionism is essentially a revival—a revival of the principles of liberty and social religion. The necessity of revivals arises from the uniform tendency of every thing good in human nature, to decay and extinction. Principle must be strictly watched over and diligently cherished, else temptation will triumph. Excitement must be fed by continual supplies of fuel, or it will go out. From the beginning, the march of mind has not been onward. Motives and a power, not the product of man or of the ordinary circumstances surrounding him, have ever been required to keep him from retrograding in mind and morals. The history of the world is our authority for this truth. A special revelation became necessary to revive the knowledge and worship of the true God; and a dispensation of miracles was demanded, to keep alive the revival and counteract the inherent proneness of the elect to relapse into idolatry. The tendency of the individual to corruption, is as much a law of his depraved nature, as gravitation is of the material universe. Of course, the church will degenerate, the state grow corrupt. While men sleep, the enemy will sow tares. The process of vitiating principle, perverting opinion, alloying truth with error, is always going on. Heresies in speculation and practice, in doctrine and duty, are the growth of every country.

The reformation was a revival of the entire system of Christianity, which in the lapse of centuries, had been transformed into a sort of idolatry. Methodism was the revival of a doctrine, which had almost fallen into contempt, or was but weakly set forth. It was primarily a doctrinal revival. The American revolution was a political revival—a new and striking exemplification of the great doctrine of human rights. Abolitionism is a two-fold revival; first, of the law of love in relation to man, "Love thy neighbor as thyself;" and then, of the principles of liberty, as proclaimed by our forefathers. Its necessity has arisen from a national violation of this law, a national departure from these principles.

"A Little Leaven leaveneth the whole Lump."

A single sin habitually indulged, will most likely corrupt the entire man. It is a breach in the character, through which the tempter will enter like a flood.

As a nation, we had long soothed ourselves with the notion, that we were pre-eminently the disciples of Christ, and lovers of an equal liberty. To the world, we had solemnly proclaimed our belief that all men were equal; and ardent were our professions of attachment to the truths of that revelation, whose whole machinery of operation is adjusted to the assumption, that the human family are equal—whose only principle for the regulation of social duties is utterly hostile to the spirit and practice of slavery. We were self-deceived, or did we purpose to deceive others? Alas! In the beginning, there was hypocrisy in our pretensions: in the beginning there was palpable inconsistency in our conduct: in the beginning there was an infatuated spirit of transgression against light. We either sinned, or consented unto sin, against our principles. Expediency or gain prevailed on us to practice, and continue to practice against innocent men, a worse oppression than that which we had resisted and denounced as unjust.

We are now reaping the fruits of transgression. One vice has brought multitudes in its train. Persistence in disregarding the plain dictates of duty, has rendered the moral sense of the nation obtuse. Expediency has become the standard of right and wrong. A false philosophy has sprung up, to justify in practice, what the speculative conscience reprobates. Gross inconsistencies in conduct have generated corruption of public opinion; vicious practice has contaminated national principles. The South, having once exceeded slavery-holding on the score of necessity, now justifies it on principle. The North, from maintaining an attitude which rebuked oppression, has sunk down into a spirit of tame acquiescence, and if it does not actually smile, at least looks without a frown, on southern slavery.

Thus it is that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump; that a house divided against itself cannot stand; that Christ and Belial cannot dwell together; that the kingdom of light must either swallow up the kingdom of darkness, or be swallowed up by it.

We may learn a lesson from our experience. To harmonize contraries is impossible. You may bring them in juxtaposition, but there can be no real union, until they assimilate. Slavery and liberty dwell side by side; but there will be eternal hostility, until one of them be exterminated. North and South are joined under one government; real union between them there can be none, until they become alike. Union is important, and therefore efforts the most determined have been put forth to work an assimilation of character and interests between them. Alas! these have been the efforts of the North chiefly. The free states have yielded much. They have sacrificed half of their independence, half of their virtue, half of their political creed, almost all of their pity for the oppressed;—they have suffered the spirit of slavery to stand up in their temples of religion and halls of legislation, restraining sympathy, breathing prejudice, and dictating inflictions upon an unoffending race, of which heathens might be ashamed: They have at times trampled on the doctrine of human rights, insulted humanity, outraged religion,—and all this disgrace and shame and guilt have been incurred by efforts to propitiate the South, to assimilate with the South. How has it been with the South? Has she grown wiser, and better, and purer, from the example of her northern neighbor? Has she made an effort to fashion her institutions after northern models? Has she grown more pious, merciful, just? Has she compromised one jot or tittle of the system of slavery? Let the truth be known and never forgotten: that in every attempt to harmonize character and interests in this Union, liberty has lost and slavery gained. The free man of the North, in his eagerness to maintain unity of spirit with his southern neighbor, has commonly sacrificed the interests of that liberty which his fathers bequeathed him: the slave-holder, under no circumstances has ever neglected an opportunity of gaining additional respect and security for the beloved institution of slavery.

Another lesson the northern states should learn specially. Consenting unto wickedness, withholding reproof, as it has involved them in the corruption, so will surely incur the condemnation of the evil doer. We must believe that there is but one way in which the church can regain and retain its purity and zeal; in which the state can resume its stand on the high grounds of liberty; and that is, by ceaseless and open condemnation of the whole spirit, practice and theory of slavery.

What Abolitionism Has Brought to Light.

The agitation of Abolitionism has brought to light many melancholy facts. During the first movements on this subject, there was a professed belief among christians in the sinfulness of slavery; and few politicians would pretend to deny its impolicy and its utter opposition to the spirit and letter of the Declaration of Independence. The South protested that she hated slavery, and the free states believed her. The North sang the praises of liberty, and the slave-states gave her credit for sincerity.

The anti-slavery discussion continued, excitement prevailed, and special attention was directed to the glaring inconsistency of a republican and christian nation holding slaves—practicing that which her political and religious

gious creeds alike denounced. Severe exposures were made. Truth without reservation was declared, principle without compromise enjoined, rebuke without flattery administered. If slavery were impolitic, abolition would be wise. If it were sinful, immediate abandonment was a duty. Slave-holding Christians were called on to follow out their principles, to their legitimate result. They believed slavery wrong; let them cease to do evil. Slave-holding Christians were urged to act the part of wise men. They believed slavery to be at war with their professions; let them redeem themselves and their country from the guilt of hypocrisy. The North pretended abhorrence of slavery, and saw that her example had been insufficient to restrain the growth of the curse; commanding then was her duty, to lift up her voice like a trumpet, and array her entire moral force for the redemption of her guilty neighbor.

Strange developments were made; things began to assume a different aspect. Many ways of evading the force of such appeals were devised. The North talked of union, and the obligations of the federal compact, and the impertinence of intermeddling, and the duty of non-interference and the horrors of a civil war, and prayed to be excused. Slave-holders were driven to occupy one of two grounds. The simplicity of Abolitionism perplexed them. Abolitionists laid hold of their admission that slavery was wrong, and by brief and obvious inference, drew from it a conclusion, every way startling to the slave-holder.

There were some who could not dispossess themselves of the love of liberty. They could not bring themselves to an open denial of doctrines which had been consecrated by the tears and toils and blood of their forefathers—they could not think of confessing the rectitude of slavery, while they boasted that their governments above all others beautifully exemplified the glorious principles of liberty and equality. But what should they do? If they maintained their professed adhesion to the doctrines of human rights, how could they meet the abolitionist, repel his accusations, overthrow his conclusions? A false philosophy helped them out of their perplexity. In a lucky moment it was suggested, that an abstraction was one thing, and a reality another; that the abstract and the concrete obeyed different laws; that circumstances can metamorphose good into evil and evil into good; that what is wrong in the abstract, may be justified in practice; what is sinful in conception, may be innocent in commission. Such a philosophy, if a multitude of peculiar influences had not combined to give it support, could never have been kept in countenance. But, it is a hard task to turn a deaf ear to the voice of interest, to quench the power of prejudice, break the chain of habit, overcome the love of command, to dare to be singular at the certain hazard of contempt, to jeopardize property and life itself—all in support of a conclusion at war with the prepossessions of a whole life, and commonly believed to strike at the foundations of the public safety. These were the influences that pressed on the minds of this class of slave-holders, and turned them aside to the belief, that while they reprobated slavery in the abstract, yet they could do no otherwise, in their circumstances, than give their countenance and support to the curse.

A far larger class with less adroitness but greater boldness, determined on a more satisfactory way of ending the matter. They would deny the doctrine, and the inferred duty could not affect them. They would set at naught the principle, and then with perfect consistency they could hold themselves independent of its consequences. Slavery was not sinful, but a relation ordained and sanctioned by God. Slavery was not unprofitable, but necessary to the sure foundation and endurance of republican institutions.

Strictly speaking, here was only a development of what existed before. The same religious and political horsey had long been entertained, although from habit, education, or convenience, in appearance there was the same adhesion to the doctrine of man's original equality, there had ever been. Principle had not been able to withstand the force of opposing habit. Sin against light, had been visited with darkness. Their belief was powerless. They had a name to live, and were dead. But the world knew it not, and scarcely they themselves, until the earnestness with which abolitionists pressed upon them the legitimate conclusion from their own professed principles, tore away the mask, brought forth the naked truth, and then were these slave-holders seen in their true character, unblushing advocates of a perpetual system of slavery in a Christian Republic.

Remarks on Dr. Channing, (continued.)

Do the slave-holders as a body hold their slaves for gain? If they do, Dr. Channing, so far as censure is concerned, is an abolitionist.

In our remarks last week, we introduced facts that we believe are undeniable, and that lie on the very surface of slavery, to raise the presumption at least, that the affirmative of the proposition is true. We still think, they are altogether sufficient for this purpose;—and that Dr. C. instead of being able to make out a clear case on his part, by all the evidence that can be adduced, will find it difficult, if not impossible, even to obviate the presumption.

If it is so, that the majority of slave-holders continue such, for the good of the slave, and not for their own gain, some evidence of it, striking and substantial, can be found. No where, it may be supposed, ought we to look for it with a stronger assurance of success, than among the religious of the South. Shall we first go to their ecclesiastical councils? If we do, it will be unnecessary to particularize any one denomination for its pro-slavery action. Whatever enmity may have existed among the sects on their points of difference in doctrines, creeds, &c. they have been made friends by their common support of slavery. In their bitterness against the advocates of immediate emancipation, (although members of the several churches of which they respectively constitute portions,) Synods and Conferences, Associations and Conventions have exhibited the most unbroken harmony. While they spare no invective against immediateism, they have proposed no plan of gradualism, nor indeed any plan that pretends to look to the termination of slavery, at any period, however distant. They have rejected the counsel of their most considerate friends, who, having no property in slaves, would have been the best advisers—they have held as enemies all who dared to offer advice, unless they were in the same condemnation with themselves. As long as the Southern church succeeded in blinding the North, by their wailings over the social and moral ills of slavery, they were ready (none more so) to admit its repugnancy with the religion of the Gospel. Pressed by abolitionists to a discharge of their duty, they sought for sympathy abroad, by reiterating the old apologies—by framing new ones, and by having re-dressed for them at the North, the exploded principle, that we may do evil that good may come. This was handed over to them in this shape, that of two "zeals" we must choose the least. All these refugees, however, were unavailing—the slaveholding religionists were routed at every point, and the result

It is just for combating this false dictum that abolitionists are charged with being regardless of consequences.—They look on the [evils] inconveniences, whatever they might prove to be, of immediate emancipation, as incapable, from their different nature, of being compared with the [evils] of living in the systematic oppression of our fellow men.

has been, that they have fallen back on their last position, and a fearful one it is—that, Southern slavery is sanctioned by the Word of God. So far as their public acts speak, they fall on the ear of philanthropy like a knell, leaving in her prospect, nothing but growing oppressions, and multiplying murders. Can such a process of declension be predicated of a church where the "majority" are slave-holders, merely for the good of the slave? Would such violence of denunciation have been exhibited against a portion of their fellow-Christians, who were urging them to a full enlargement of the slave, if the majority of those appealed to had felt themselves exempt from the influence of any selfish interest in the matter? If a majority of them hold slaves, not for gain—if they are willing that the slave should have all his earnings (after deducting his expenses) why is it that we have seen no action among themselves, to compel all the members of their churches to the same measure of justice? Had there been in these ecclesiastical assemblies even a minority, should we not have been informed of the fact by some resistance they had offered to the reign of terror that the majority had set up? But nothing of this kind appears to have taken place. Whatever, then, may have been the generous motives by which members of these bodies were secretly influenced to remain slave-holders, there is no tangible evidence that they are such from any other motive than the common and selfish one.

But it may be said,—the higher motives prevail among religious men who are not among the Scribes and Elders of the church. Where is the proof?—for let it be remembered, we can reach the motive only by external demonstration. If there are any such persons sufficiently numerous to constitute a class in the South, would they leave the mind of the slave to wither and perish for want of its proper nourishment? Where are their schools—for instance in Kentucky, where there is no law prohibiting them? Where are their remonstrances against laws forbidding instruction in those states where they have been enacted, and their importunate petitions for their repeal? There are, we believe, strictly speaking, none. Whilst we admit, that among "religious" slave-holders, there are more frequent instances of slaves being somewhat instructed to read, than among those slaveholders who make no pretensions to any religious belief, we yet very confidently say, the instances of general kindness are not more common among them, in proportion to their number, than among the latter.

And here let us bear witness to a fact of some importance. Instances are cited, favorable southern religionists, of their instructing their slaves in reading, so that they can read the Bible for themselves &c. &c. Schools of the most systematic and almost picturesque loveliness, conducted by the most intelligent and interesting young masters and mistresses have been pictured before the public, in which the happy little orphans of the planter's domain were successfully being taught to know for themselves the way to heaven—to read God's word and dwell on his rich consolations with intelligent delight. We will not deny that such statements are true, yet we must say, they raise our "special wonder." We do not deny that some slaves are taught to read, and to understand what they read, as well as Dr. Channing, or the writer of these remarks, but this much we confidently say, and say it too, after giving to the subject more attention than slave-holders ordinarily do, that we have never known a single instance of a slave, young or old, who could read the Bible or any other book or paper, with as much ease and intelligence as a well instructed white boy of eight or ten years old, the member of a Christian family.

Slave-holders, who have their slaves "instructed," deceive themselves in this way.—They generally install the younger members of the white family as teachers—pay but little attention themselves to the progress made by the slaves, or to the regularity of the instruction;—when, after a year or two, knowing that "instruction" has been allowed, and judging rather from the time it has been allowed, and the progress made by children at the common day-schools of the country, than from any accurate knowledge they themselves possess of the progress of their domestic pupils, they are led with a good deal of boldness, especially when defending themselves against the criminality of neglect, to assert, that their slaves can read very well. The truth is, that slaves who hope for no other condition, cannot, as a general thing, be taught to read, in the fragments of time, (an hour or an hour and a half a week,) allotted to them for this purpose. The stimulus cannot be made strong enough to produce the adequate intellectual effort. Those of them who do succeed under their disadvantageous circumstances, in learning any thing, are generally such as hope, from some lucky turn, to have their freedom granted to them, or that, in future, they may use their learning as the means of winning it. To conclude our remarks on this point, we give it as our opinion, that in Kentucky, where there is no legal barrier to slave instruction, there is, among the religious as a class, not more than one of their slaves in fifty receiving any instruction in elementary learning—and there is not one in a thousand who can read the Bible fluently and understandingly. In the planting states, the numbers are still smaller.

Again,—do not the majority of "religious" slave-holders increase in wealth from the labor of their slaves, as those who do hold slaves "for gain?" The catalogue of articles of property producing wealth in the South is short. Land (cotton and sugar) and slaves constitute almost the whole list. There, the sources of private revenue are easily ascertained. Take, then, the "religious" slave-holders of every class, and you will find them accumulating wealth as other men, from the labor of their slaves, and from nothing else. They become rich—the slaves remain poor. Make your most diligent selection from the "religious" class—of those who "feed best," and "clothe best," and who take some care that their slaves are not wantonly abused by their overseers; add, too, to the list of favorable circumstances, that they are among the number of those who, previously to the irritating operations of the abolitionists, declared, that they held their slaves for their own good—in fine, let them be those, who above all others in the South, would be set down as holding their slaves from some more generous motive than gain. Let us see what is the course of these picked slave-holders. When their daughters get married, they give, by platoons, slaves to the husbands, irrespective of their character. They divide with their own sons in the same way. When they make their wills, or die without making them, their slaves go to their children or other heirs, without any reference whatever to the good of the slaves, or to the temper and disposition of their future owners. It is a case, which, we believe, has never occurred at the South—for a slave-holder to be so solicitous about the future situation of his slaves as to bequeath them to the best master in the neighborhood, to the exclusion of the members of his own family, however ill disposed they may be to treat their slaves kindly.

It ought to be remembered, that the position of the abolitionist can be maintained only by negative evidence. It is not susceptible of any other. Notwithstanding there may be many circumstances which tend to prove the improbability of a particular motive existing in a man's mind, yet it may exist there,—whether it does or not, can be absolutely known to no one but himself. Slave-holders hold their slaves as property—treat them as property—take from them the avails of their labor through life—without hold from the mind the nourishment it needs—from the soil all moral education—transfer them to others during life or at death, without regarding the treatment they are to receive from those to whom they are assigned—these are circumstances which do tend, and as we think, very strongly, to prove the improbability at least, of the "religious" slave-holders' holding their slaves from any other motive than gain.

To what we have said above, we will add the testimony of a Presbyter, who is also a slave-holder of the lower country. It is taken from a late work of the Rev. James Smylie, written with the express view of giving ease to

the slave-holder's conscience, by convincing him that slavery is consistent with the Christian religion. He says, on page 13: "If slavery be a sin as you say," and if "advertising and apprehending slaves with a view to restore them to their master, is a direct violation of the Dirige Law"—also, "that the buying, selling, or holding a slave, for the sake of gain, is a heinous sin and scandal," then, verily, "three-fourths of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians in eleven states of the Union, 'are of the Devil.'"

The Cincinnati Gazette—Confectionery.

The ad interim editor of the Cincinnati Gazette (Mr. Hammond being absent at Columbus) tells his readers that he was presented a few days ago, unexpectedly, with a sample of cake by one of our most skillful confectioners. After some handsome remarks, comparing it very favorably with all other cakes the editor had seen, he proceeds, for the encouragement of the donor and others pursuing the same calling in this city, to show how intimately connected is the advancement of the confectionary business, with the works of Internal Improvement our citizens are talking about having.

"The opponents" says he, "of the Southern Rail Road, say, that it will bring a few Southern Nabobs into the city, and that their stay in no way will benefit us. Of all other people, these Southerners of wealth, who come north to spend the summer, are those who have the most money, who know the value of it the least, and who spend it as free as water. As they come for pleasure, they purchase freely every thing which administers to it. This money will be received, more by persons keeping confectionary and cake establishments than perhaps any other, from the traveller of pleasure. Thus the poorer people are directly interested in this work which will make our city the place of residence of Southern men of wealth in the summer."

We view this matter somewhat differently from the editor of the Gazette. The Southern confectionary riskers to our city do us but little good. The people are nearly right, who say the Rail Road will facilitate the introduction among us of few rather than Southern Nabobs. The contamination of Southern manners and habits of extravagance will more than counterbalance all the benefit of the money they may squander at our fashionable hotels.

There is another kind of people that it will assist in the facilities of visiting us, Southern gamblers and debauchees. It is they, and other folk who have nothing to do in the summer but go about through the country seeking their vicious gains and indulgences, that contribute to keep up all the haunts of vice in our Northern cities.

The legitimate advantage of the Rail Road to commerce, &c., we do not intend to disparage—but we do say, the plain republicanism of the north is not benefited by the summer visits of any class of Southern visitors.—It is they who have created nearly all the disturbances among us for the last two or three years—we can do better without than with them. We wish they would stay at home, till they cease from spending abroad the avails of their unrequited labors.

Liberty vs. Slavery.

The Sandusky Clarion of the 24th inst., contains a call to the citizens of Huron county, for an Anti-Slavery meeting, to be held on next Wednesday, the 4th January.—The call, signed by more than THREE HUNDRED names, is in the following words:

ANTI-SLAVERY MEETING.

The undersigned citizens of Huron county, alarmed at the recent and repeated encroachments upon the freedom of speech and the press, and feeling that a crisis of appalling interest is at hand, threatening to blight our hopes as a nation, and destroy our liberties, take this method to invite the citizens of this county to convene at Milan, on Wednesday the 4th day of January next, at one o'clock P. M., then and there to take into consideration, and express our views and sentiments in relation to the aforesaid evils, and in relation to Slavery, as it exists in our country, standing as it does intimately connected with the evils in question.

The following address is attached to the list of names:

TO THE CITIZENS OF HURON COUNTY:

Fellow-Citizens—

Designated as a committee of arrangements, in reference to the convention to be held in Milan, on Wednesday, the 4th of January next, at one o'clock P. M., as notified in this paper, we cannot forbear to express our most earnest solicitations for your prompt and punctual attendance. We regard the present as a period of momentous interest to our country, and especially to our own state, in view of the present aspects of the slavery question. Scenes of the most disgraceful character, and subversive of all good order, have become frequent enactment. Even in Ohio, once free and independent, the manacles are being forged, which we must submit to wear ourselves, and leave to be worn by our children, unless we arise and fearlessly maintain our rights. Outrages have recently been committed on the persons and property of our fellow-citizens, worthy only of an age of barbarism and ignorance. Peaceful and unoffending inhabitants have, in numerous instances, been assaulted and cruelly insulted in the public streets, for daring to call American slavery, sin. Assemblies, the most rudely broken-up, and innocent females insulted and driven from the places where they had assembled peaceably, to hear illustrated the doctrines of the declaration of independence, and of the constitution of the United States. The press, yielding to the threats of the mob, has basely covered in silence, or eulogized their heroic deeds and fawned to a slaveholding aristocracy. On the few that have dared to speak out in defence of human rights, public opinion has fastened its withering frown.

One press, conducted with the greatest decorum, and under the superintendence of a gentleman of acknowledged urbanity, has been broken down, by a lawless mob, and its fragments thrown into the Ohio river. Self-styled "gentlemen of property and standing," have secretly conspired, or openly abetted these barbarous outrages.—With these alarming evils before him, the patriot can no longer be silent, without putting in jeopardy those liberties which are our birth-right, and which should be surrendered only with our lives. In view of these considerations, fellow-citizens, we ask your attendance and your co-operation, in devising such measures as may contribute to perpetuate our free institutions, and save our country. Let the call of duty and of patriotism prevail. Be found at your posts.

F. D. PARISH,
E. JUDSON,
JOHN SEYMOUR,
BRADFORD STURTAVANT.

MILAN, Dec. 12, 1836.

What we have often said in private conversation, and in public expositions, we again repeat—if SLAVERY live at the South, LIBERTY must die at the North. And we do rejoice that not only the people of Huron, but of nearly the whole of the free States, are beginning to see and act upon this truth. There is no middle ground.

Slavery—"counts nothing done,"
Till all is gained beneath the sun."

The list of names to the Huron call is left at the A. S. Depository, corner of Fifth and Plum streets, where any person desiring to examine it, may have an opportunity of doing so.

The Duties of Editors.

Is it not important, that the public should be informed, what is doing by the abolitionists? Has not the community generally a right to the news on so important a subject? Certainly: a better right, we would think, than to know of the escape of a runaway slave—even when the notice is accompanied with an invitation to assist in running him down. Why, then, do not editors publish notices of the large meetings which are so often and so widely held by the abolitionists, all over the country?

New Species of Kidnapping.

"Si quis novit novus idem—imperti."

The orator who distinguished himself at the "Great Anti-Abolition Meeting" in this city, in January last, by recommending a surgical operation on the southern slaves, to prevent their escaping so rapidly as to alarm their masters, has not been less happy in discovering a new species of kidnapping, carried on to a pernicious and disgraceful extent here. In holding forth, a few evenings since, at a city meeting, he enumerated many disadvantages under which Cincinnati lay, when compared with the neighboring cities. The orator is reported to have said—"a new species of fanaticism had sprung up of late here, that effectually deprives us of the benefit of our Southern visitors, as formerly—it displayed itself in kidnapping their servants as soon as they entered the city, and hurrying them off from their service." The orator must have had in his mind the following doggerel couplet:

"You kidnapper? I kidnapper:
And now, good-bye, for Canada."

Gov. M'Duffie's Valedictory.

Governor M'Duffie in taking his official farewell of the South Carolina Legislature, does it with the following flourish:

"And if—which may heaven forbid—it should so happen, that in the rapid progress of those insidious events which are even now casting their ill-boding shadows before them, South Carolina should be constrained to summon all her chivalry to the defence of her household gods and domestic altars; yielding a prompt obedience to the sacred call, I will fly to her glorious standard 'swift as the tempest travels o'er the waste of mighty waters,' prepared and resolved, in common with every true and patriotic son of hers, to defend and preserve her institutions and liberties, or perish in their ruins."

And now, what does the reader suppose has raised so high the mercury of the Governor's chivalry? It is, that certain of his countrymen are addressing arguments to him and his "co-slaveholders, to cease from the fierce oppression the sun now shines on—from exacting labor through life, from the poor of the land, without any recompense—from scourging, and selling men, and their wives and their little ones, and from barring out the knowledge of God and the religion of his Son, from their now helpless fellow-citizens.

Reader, this is all.

From the Philadelphia National Enquirer, Proclamation of Gen. Bravo.

By the last Express Mail from the South, the official proclamation of Gen. Bravo to his army, dated at San Luis Potosi, has been received in this city. We have been permitted to make a translation of it; and herewith lay the same before our readers.

It will thus be seen that the Mexican army is advancing upon Texas.

Proclamation of the General in Chief of the Army of the North to the forces under his command:

SOLDIERS:—You are destined to form an important part of the army that returns to Texas. Since the grand work of our Independence was achieved, our country never called upon its worthy sons in defence of a more sacred cause, nor to sustain a more just war. In that Texas, where there should only be found people friendly to the Mexicans, and grateful for the generous hospitality granted by them, you but meet with hordes of insolent adventurers who, when our usurped lands are claimed from them, answer by raising the savage war cry. A trifling success, which must be attributed to the contempt with which they were looked upon and by no means to their own prowess, has filled them with vain glory. They consider the soldiers of our army as cowards and effeminate, though this same army, during twenty-six years of continual combat, has never once shunned danger, but has, on the contrary, given strong proofs of sufferings and heroism. But the madness of these adventurers knows no bounds: they have threatened to carry the war as far as the walls of Mexico itself—foolish men that they are! We forgive them this extravagant idea, but shall at the same time undeceive them. Let them be made acquainted with the true character of the soldiers of the republic. On, and let them understand that to us has been committed the guardianship of the honor of the nation: to us the vengeance for the outrages she has received, to us, in fine, the charge of making it evident to them, that a magnanimous people is not to be insulted with impunity.

Soldiers! Our comrades are awaiting our arrival on the northern frontier, and are impatient to share with us the renown of our first efforts.—Let us proceed to join them without delay; and all united, let us fulfil the sacred duty entrusted to us. It requires but one small effort to secure the integrity of the national territory, and to restore the national character, as well as the inestimable blessing of peace.

Soldiers of the army of the North! What I expect from you is subordination, discipline, respect for property, firmness in the hour of battle, clemency towards the conquered. The example will be set by your commanders, and victory will follow in your footsteps;—of this I, as your commanding general, assure you. He will be found always near you, the first to encounter danger, and when the campaign shall be terminated, he will recommend your services, that they may be recompensed as they deserve, and will then leave to you, exclusively, the merit of having triumphed.

Camp, in San Luis Potosi, Nov. 9th 1836.

NICOLAS BRAVO.

ANTI-SLAVERY INTELLIGENCE.

County Meetings.

We perceive by our exchange papers, that our friends in different parts of the state, are very active, holding stated meetings of their societies.

THE WASHINGTON COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—met, October 17th, in the Baptist meeting house, Marietta. The Constitution was read, a contribution taken up, and twelve additional names reported, and a committee appointed to circulate a petition to Congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. An interesting address was delivered by the Rev. B. Roberts, and several resolutions passed—one, appointing a committee to draft a memorial to Congress for the grant of a tract of land, for the free people of color. Owing to the decision and wise conduct of the Mayor, all disturbance was prevented, and the meeting was brought to a happy termination in peace. A fuller account is given in Mr. Hall's letter. See last number.

TRUMBULL COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.—Our Anti-Slavery friends of this county assembled, November 7th, at the court house at Warren. The meeting, as we gather from the report published in the Ohio Observer, was an extremely interesting one. It was resolved to invite Mr. Hiram Foots of New York, one of the agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to visit and labor in the county. A committee of five was also appointed to draft an address to the inhabitants of the county. Among other resolutions adopted by the meeting, was the following:

1st Resolved, That the hour is coming when those ministers and professing Christians who have refused their houses of prayer and public worship, to a meeting for the benefit of the oppressed, will painfully regret, before God, that act of refusal, so at variance with the law of love to their enslaved and suffering brethren.

PORTAGE COUNTY ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—Held its annual meeting at Tallmadge, October 26. An address was delivered by the Rev. E. Beardsley, of Atwater.—The following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That the success of our past efforts, and our present prospects, furnish us with a firm ground of hope, and urge us not only to persevere but to increase our activity in the cause of Emancipation.

Upon a call from the chair, D. O. Hudson proposed and remarked briefly, upon the following.

Resolved, That Slavery, being rooted in a principle which annihilates the proper distinctions of humanity, is a common foe of mankind, wherever it may exist—and that our own safety, therefore, as well as the safety of the colored man, requires us to be abolitionists.

J. B. Walker seconded the resolution, and added some very forcible remarks in its support. The resolution was adopted.

On motion, it was likewise

Resolved, That the Executive Committee be instructed to prepare suitable memorials to Congress and four state Legislatures on the subject of Slavery and our oppressive laws—and to send printed copies to the friends of the cause in the several townships to be circulated and forwarded to Washington and Columbus.

Officers for the ensuing year: President, Alpha Wright, of Tallmadge; Ogden Wetmore, Secretary.

The Executive Committee in their report say:

"The new societies which have been formed within the county, and the additions which old ones have received, have been the result, chiefly of individual exertion. The number of these, and the measures they may have adopted, have not been ascertained—unless by the corresponding secretary who is now absent. The committee, however, take pleasure in stating, that a Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society has been formed in the county, which does honor to the sex, and proves the value of female influence in this, as well as every other cause of righteousness and benevolence. The amount of funds which this society has raised; the increased prevalence of Anti-Slavery principles, and the dignity and character which it has contributed to the cause, deserve to be highly estimated.

The destruction of the press and other materials for publishing Anti-Slavery matter, at Cincinnati, has materially embarrassed the labors of the executive committee of the state society. Your committee therefore earnestly recommend the adoption of some measures, by their successors, for the purpose of procuring funds to meet the exigencies of the state society.

The committee speak with becoming spirit on the subject of petitions.

"The last Congress denied our right to petition, and those who went there with prayer were sent back with scorn and insult. Let us petition again, more fully, clearly, cogently—if for no other purpose than that we may assert and maintain our own rights, and teach our representatives that we are not yet submissive slaves. Let us call upon every man and woman in our country, in the name of our common inheritance, of freedom, and of the down-trodden and despairing slave, to send in their protest against this outrage upon their rights and the oppression of the innocent poor.—Let us make thorough work of this matter, and resolve never to cease till our rights are acknowledged, and our prayers answered.

Petitions in Pennsylvania.

The Pennsylvania abolitionists, besides petitioning congress against slavery in the District of Columbia, are also urging the legislature of the state to restore the right of trial by jury to persons claimed as fugitive slaves. This is of more importance than can readily be seen. It would practically be almost equal to our adoption of the Jewish law on the subject; or few slaves would be claimed, and fewer still obtained; if it was necessary for the man who would carry his neighbor from freedom to slavery to establish his claim by legal evidence, to the satisfaction, not of a political judge, but of a jury of the yeomanry. And besides the passing of such a law by the legislatures of the free states would be received as virtually a declaration against slavery itself, and would be so regarded at the south. It would be a legislative recognition of the humanity, at least, if not of the citizenship of colored men, if they were allowed a jury to decide in regard to the dearest of their earthly rights.

N. Y. Evans.

Taunton Anti-Slavery Society.

A meeting of Delegates from Anti-Slavery societies, was held in Bristol county, Mass. November 16th, in Taunton, for the purpose of forming a county Anti-slavery society. A society was formed of 171 members; several resolutions were passed, among others, the following:

Resolved, That none of the native citizens of this Republic are Africans; and that they all have an equal right to their own country, and to enjoy all its civil and religious privileges.

Resolved, That instead of schools for colored children exclusively, all our schools and seminaries of learning, with all their privileges, ought to be equally accessible to children of every complexion.

Resolved, That the prejudice at the North against our colored brethren is deep seated and wicked, and is a species of slavery which ought to be immediately abolished.

The following Resolution was presented by Moses Thatcher:

Resolved, That by virtue of their high and holy vocation and the commission which they profess to have received from the Great Head of the Church, Ministers of the Gospel are under peculiar and special obligations to bear testimony against the system and abominations of American slavery.

Michigan State Anti-Slavery Society.

The Convention called to form this society, commenced its session at Ann Arbor, Nov. 10th, and continued it until the evening of the 11th. Robert Stuart, of Wayne county, was elected President of the Society, and William Kirkland Corresponding Secretary. We select a few of the adopted resolutions.

Resolved, That the right of petitioning Congress is guaranteed to us by the Constitution of the U. S. States;—that this right has no other limit than that imposed by our sense of duty; and the attempt in the late Congress to nullify this right, by an *a priori* declaration that on certain subjects petitions shall be disregarded, is a palpable, direct, and most alarming violation of this provision of the constitution.

Resolved, That the right of free discussion is the main pillar of our liberties, and that the numerous late attempts to violate it, by attacks upon the freedom of speech and of the press are calculated to erode the deepest arm in the bosom of every American citizen who loves his country, and desires the perpetuity of her institutions.

Resolved, That all attempts to justify slavery from the Word of God are gross perversions of its precepts and principles, tend to lessen its influence, and impair confidence in its truth and divine authority.

Resolved, That the laws which withhold the Bible from the colored population of the South, involve a direct and palpable violation of God's command, "Search the Scriptures."

Resolved, That the participation of the Christian Church in the sin of slavery, by admitting to her communion or fellowship, such as advocate and sustain it by precepts and example, is alike destructive of her purity and influence; inasmuch as in the faithful, fearless and constant maintenance of Truth and Righteousness, consist her prosperity, glory and power.

Resolved, That we recommend the general observance of the last Monday evening of every month, as a monthly concert of prayer for the immediate abolition of slavery throughout the world.

West Chester County Anti-Slavery Society.

We saw, a short time since, a call in one of our exchange papers, for a meeting of the friends of Anti-Slavery, for the purpose of forming a county society. The meeting was to be held on the 15th inst. in the town of Mount Pleasant. Will some of our friends be good enough to forward to us an account of the meeting?

Kind equal rule, the government of laws, And all-protecting freedom, which alone Sustain the name and dignity of man, Your sabbath brethren have not.

ANTI-SLAVERY.

Right to Interfere.

"But is this a matter with which the whole people of the United States are concerned? What have we at the North, who have no slaves, to do with slavery in the South? Is it of no concern to us that this principle of evil exists in the nation—is at war with the genius and the fundamental doctrines of our institutions—and is constantly degrading and besetting the spirit of the people? Is it nothing that it renders us

The Christian's scorn—the heathen's mirth?

"Are we to rest calmly, with the brand of infamy hissing on our foreheads, in consequence of the connection which we have with its bonds of blood? Ought we not at least to wash our hands before the world, of any acquiescence in its wrongs and guilt? But as men and philanthropists, have we nothing to do in this matter? Why, let me ask, are the chords of our hearts so tuned, that the cry of all the injured, the wail of the oppressed, and the applications of the needy, find a ready response within us, and impel us to their relief? Why do we burn with indignation at the relation of wrong and outrage?—Why do we instinctively fly to the succor of the distressed? It is because God has given to man, in these impulses of his nature, a hold upon his fellow—a shield from his rapacity, and a barrier to his wrath. He has bound together the human family by these palpable, though enduring bonds, for the most glorious and beneficent purposes. In these emotions of our souls are found the strongest bulwarks of human freedom. They are breakwaters built up by the Almighty in the ocean of human passion. From these sympathies flow forth the purest aspirations of philanthropy—the noblest efforts of patriotism. Without these, the world would be one vast Acedaema—there would be no right, except in the might of the conqueror—no ear to listen to the cry of the injured, and no hand to save the 'wringing slaves of wrong.' To stifle these emotions, then, is to do violence to the 'divinity that stirs within us.'—It is to outrage the spirit that gave us our own liberties, and that is our surest defence against the approaches of despotism. And shall Americans have no feeling for the bondmen in their own borders? Shall their sympathies be squandered upon the oppressed of other climes, while millions of their own countrymen bow beneath a yoke more galling than that which frets upon the neck of the Eastern serf?

What! shall we send with lavish breath

Our sympathies across the wave,

Where manhood on the field of death,

Strikes for his freedom or a grave?

Shall prayers go up and hymns be sung

For Greece, the Moslem fetter spurning,

And millions hail, with pen and tongue,

Our light on all her altars burni'g?

Shall Belgium feel, and gallant France,

By Vendome's pile and Schoenbrunn's wall,

And Poland, grasping on her lance

The impulse of our cheering call?

And shall the slave beneath our eye

Clank o'er our fields his hateful chain,

And toss his fetter'd arms on high,

And groan for freedom's gift in vain?"

"Ay, shall it be a concern of ours to cheer the Pole in his death-struggle for freedom, and to feed the Greek while striking for the renovation of his country's liberties, and yet have nothing to do with beating the chain from the thrall of the Santee and Potomac? How shall the nations of the old world laugh to scorn our hypocrisy, if, while we cheer on the oppressed of their soils to victory, we help to fasten the manacle on our own countrymen? How should we libel the American name, and bring hissing upon American patriotism? As men, as philanthropists, as patriots, and above all as Americans, we have something to do with slavery."—*E. D. Barber's Oration.*

From the Friend of Man.

The Continuance of American Slavery a Hindrance to the Cause of Reform in Europe.

My attention has, for some time, been directed to the influence which the continuance of slavery in our Republic has upon the progress of reform in Europe. As I was perusing the April number of the Edinburgh Review, a periodical which most of your readers may know, is devoted to the cause of reform, and which ranks with the very highest class of European literature, I observed an article headed "An affectionate expostulation with the Christians in the United States of America, because of the continuance of negro slavery throughout many districts of their country. Addressed by the Ministers, Deacons, and Members of the Congregational Church, formed by the Congregation assembling in Mill street Chapel, Perth." If you think the following extract from the Review of this Expostulation, together with the thoughts it suggested are adapted to promote the cause which your paper so ably and successfully advocates, they are at your disposal.

"The subject is momentous, it naturally excites great interest in this country and in America; and we wish to join in these expostulations for this, among other reasons, that as our opinion has, upon all occasions, been strongly pronounced in favor of the rights, the institutions and the character of our transatlantic brethren, so they can never ascribe the course which we are now pursuing, to any of those hostile feelings, long prevalent—we fear still prevalent among the illiberal party in this country. On the contrary, if we have a wish more anxious than another, next to the desire of seeing negro slavery abolished, it is that we should be furnished by the Americans themselves with a triumphant answer to the invectives now pouring forth against them, by the party which hates freedom, and even drains improvement, and which we may term their adversary as well as our own. There is nothing from which these enemies of popular rights derive more satisfaction, than the prospect of the American Government and nation losing their favor in the sight of the English people, through the unfortunate continuance of the slave system in the United States."

Will the American people say to the editor of the Edinburgh Review, you have no right to interfere? We trust not. We hope this kind and affectionate "expostulation" will be received as coming from a friend, and that it will have that weight with us, which its importance demands.

The unjust treatment of the colored man in the United States, has, from the first, tended to impede the progress of free principles in Europe; the people of England, while they have seen us loud and clamorous for our own rights, have at the same time seen us deprive our brother of what we acknowledged to be his "inalienable rights," and while we have been very forward in calling their government, a tyranny, they have been far before us in proclaiming liberty to the captive. The palpable inconsistency of the principles of equality upon which the men of '76 placed their right to become independent of the mother country, with slavery, prevented many good men in Europe from recognizing the justice of our right. Dr. Johnson, a Tory from education, but an honest friend of the poor African, who had no one to proclaim his wrongs, exclaimed in his work entitled "Taxation no Tyranny." "How is it that we hear the loudest yelps for liberty among the drivers of negroes?" Thomas Moore, too, an English Tory, after a tour through America, gives a description of some of our institutions. The following extract may illustrate his idea of our consistency:

"Who can with patience for a moment see

The medley mass of pride and misery,

Of whips and chains, manacles and rights,
Of slav'ry blacks, and democratic whites,
And all the piebald polity that reigns
In free confusion o'er Columbia's plains!
To think that man, thou just and gentle God!
Should stand before thee, with a tyrant's rod,
O'er creatures like himself, with souls from thee,
Yet dare to boast of perfect liberty.
Away, away—I'd rather hold my neck
In doubtful tenure from a sultan's beak,
In climes where liberty has scarce been nam'd,
Nor any right, but that of ruling claimed,
Than thus to live where bastard freedom waves
Her fustian flag in mockery over slaves."

And now it is sixty years since we declared that "all men were created free and equal," and yet we are clinging to slavery and thereby saying all men are not created free and equal, and for this the Tories in England are pointing at us the finger of scorn, and saying to the Reform party, "see the fruits of your principles in America; these free principles are sanctioning the continuance of slavery there," and those who cherish the Reformation principles are forced to be silent.

Shall the present state of things continue? Shall we, who have proclaimed ourselves the champions of liberty, continue a system of slavery, which a monarchy has abolished—shall the advocate of liberal principles in Europe, be pointed to the United States, as a living example of the ill success of these principles—will we, instead of decorating the fair form of liberty and holding her up to the admiration of the world, so cover her with the foul garb of slavery that her beauties can not be distinguished—will we, in the northern states, for the sake of a few pieces of southern gold, stifle discussion; fetter the press and prostrate the law—will we continue to obstruct the progress of reform—will we extinguish the fire of liberty which has been kindled upon our hills and which we hoped would soon illumine the dark corners of the earth?

"Great God! and shall we ever rest
The Christian's scorn—the heathen's mirth,
Content to live the lingering jest,
And by-word of the mocking earth!
Shall our own glorious land retain
That curse which Europe scorns to hear?
Shall our own brethren drag the chain
Which not even Russia's menials wear?"

AMERICAN.

From the Aurora.

Let us not imagine then that if anti-slavery operations were to cease, there would be a social calm. No: the moral atmosphere is surcharged with other than life-giving ingredients, and these must be expelled before a healthful moral condition can be realized. Let us not then tamper with paltry palliatives, which tend to prolong, and not to cure; let us direct our remedies to the source, and not the symptoms of the disease. The advocates of freedom would recommend to enlighten the ignorance referred to, and to change or neutralize the tempers and dispositions, and this they doubt not would be an easy work. They do not think so meanly of their race as that they cannot perceive truth when unmixed with error, or that they will not embrace it when presented in its simple native beauty disencumbered of the trammels thrown around it through centuries, by impudent sophists and intriguing politicians. It is a truth that "all men are created equal." Another is that all have a right to say so everywhere. A third (and the other two are deduced from it) is that nature, and not 'might, gives right.' Does it require mental powers above the ordinary grade to comprehend these truths? Does it presuppose an unusually high degree of virtue to act them out? Who will risk his reputation for sanity, by asserting the affirmative? And may not these truths be told? They must be told, and with this telling must be told who they are that deny them. It is no time to mince words and screen characters; it is time to see and to acknowledge that ours is not only a departure from righteous principles, but that our practice is at enmity with our most boasted professions; and that this enmity is greatest where most conformity might be expected—even in the high places of church and state.—Time it is to see and to say that to our clergy and other religious professors—our legislators and exponents of the law—those to whom we have been wont to look as to the conservators of the moral health, and not to those who lack the intelligence to form their own opinions, and the independence to act in accordance with them when formed, that all the wrong which is inflicted or tolerated in our land, is chargeable.

AMOS GILBERT.

From Zion's Herald.

Influence of Abolitionism on Religion.

Dr. Fisk gives it as his opinion, that one cause of our decrease of members is our agitation of the subject of slavery. Similar opinions have been expressed by others. By "our agitation" is meant, I suppose, abolitionism. If it were affirmed that an opposition to abolitionism has been a curse to the Methodist Episcopal Church, the assertion would be supported by too many facts to admit of successful contradiction. But when it is intimated that an opposition to slavery has produced a decrease of members, stubborn facts are contradicted.

The New England and New Hampshire conferences have been the hot beds of abolition; and in both these Conferences there has been, during the two last years, a net gain, notwithstanding the great Western emigration from the New England States. There has been in the New England Conference during the last two years, a net gain of 2241 members! And this too in that part of the country where the hottest Anti-Slavery battles have been fought. Where presiding elders and preachers have lectured on Slavery, attended Anti-Slavery meetings, and spoken out in tones of thunder from the pulpit and through the press against ordained robbery, and Christian-manslaughter! Our gain for the last two years has been about 6 per cent. Had the gain in all the pro-slavery Conferences been equal to ours, in the room of losing several thousands, we should have gained about 90,000 members! The net gain in the New Hampshire Conference has been for the last two years a little less than 2 per cent., or about 380 members. The Maine Conference has lost 928—the Philadelphia Conference 1347—and the Baltimore Conference 2255! All these Conferences have passed *Anti-Slavery Resolutions*, and have strongly opposed the discussion of the slave question! This speaks volumes! Put this and that together. Dr. Fisk and others *ex. facts.* Anti-abolition, *alias*, pro-slavery measures *ex. Revivals!* In the station I now occupy, there has been a perpetual revival for more than three years and not less, probably, than 600 or 800 souls have been converted to God in those revivals! And yet all the preachers who have been employed in this station during this period, have been *thoroughgoing abolitionists!* Add to this, *George Thompson* the fanatic and many other abolition incendiaries, have lectured here frequently, during the last three years, and 1500 or more have been added to the Anti-Slavery Societies in this place! This is the way anti-slavery movements destroy revivals! In many other parts of our Conference, abolitionism and discussion have had nearly as ruinous an effect upon the cause of God!

It is not pretended that revivals of religion are confined to abolitionists; but it does appear from facts, that to say the least, abolitionism is not an "unhallowed flame" or abolitionists, poor fallen backsliders. I think it may safely be said, that three-fourths of all the revivals within the bounds of this Conference, during the last year, were brought

about through the instrumentality of abolitionists. Many of our brethren, however, who differ from us in sentiment, on the great question, have been blessed and favored of the Lord; and in this I rejoice.

There has been a decrease in most of the slave-holding Conferences for two years past—though in two or three of them, there has been an increase, and in one or two, considerable increase. And yet, take the whole of our slave-holding Conferences together, we number about 2500 less than we did two years ago. Pittsburgh, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois Conferences have been among the favored. In Oneida and Genesee, there has been a large falling off. Of twenty-two annual Conferences, twelve have fewer members now, than they had two years ago! These are mostly slave-holding Conferences, and such as have taken decided measures against the abolitionists! I am not aware, however, that the Oneida and Genesee Conferences have arranged themselves on the side of oppressors, or in other words, against immediate emancipation, though they have sustained a loss. However true it may be, that there has been an increase in some of the slave-holding Conferences, yet it is also true, that the principal part of our deficiencies are in such as have violently opposed the doctrines and measures of the abolitionists: while there has been a gain in both our abolition Conferences, and in one of them a large gain. *—Facts are stubborn things.* O. SCOTT.

Lowell, Nov. 25.

TESTIMONY OF THE CHURCH.

Testimony of the Church.

An Address from Farmington Quarterly Meeting of (Orthodox) Friends, to its members ON SLAVERY.

There are several important testimonies, to which the attention of our society has long been directed; and which it has pressed upon the consideration of the community with an earnestness, in some degree worthy of their importance. Among these testimonies, that against slavery holds a high rank. More than seventy years have elapsed since several Friends, who were ornaments to the Christian church, labored with great zeal and perseverance to convince their fellow members of the sin of slavery. Their labors were, in a peculiar manner, blessed, by bringing the society to the conviction, that for man to institute a claim to property in his fellow-man, was an offence in the Divine sight, an invasion of the prerogative of Jehovah, and consequently disqualified him for membership in a Christian church. Thus in a short time the whole society was found on the side of justice and mercy. They made the morality of the Gospel, which enjoins that, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," their rule of action. They suffered no temporal considerations, no motives of expediency to divert them from the path of duty.

It was very honorable to the character of our forefathers, that, in the conclusion of the society, to rid itself of the abomination of slavery, few were the instances of those who preferred the gain of oppression to the calls of humanity; few were the instances of those who suffered themselves to be separated from society, rather than relinquish their unrighteous claim on their fellow-man. Nor did the labors of our predecessors stop here. Both in this country and Great Britain, they were untiring in their exertions on this important subject. They did not remit their efforts till the foreign slave trade was abolished; and our brethren in Great Britain ceased not to make reiterated appeals to the public, and to the constituted authorities of their country, till slavery itself was abolished throughout the British Empire. It was an event worthy of all their exertions, together with those of other christian denominations, who were enlisted with them in the cause, when on the 1st of the 8th month, 1834, the shackles of slavery fell from nearly one million of human beings.

When we take into view the long continuance of slavery in the British dominions, and that their supposed interest was closely connected with it; and that at last it was abolished at an immense expense, it leads us to set a high estimate on those christian efforts, that could, under so many disadvantageous circumstances, effect so great a change.

Christian efforts have also been highly blessed on this side of the Atlantic. Twelve states in this confederacy are now free; and the consequence of this freedom has been unparalleled prosperity. While several of the slave states are retrograde in their march, the free states are rapidly advancing in almost every thing that constitutes a nation's wealth.

But notwithstanding the foreign slave trade has been abolished; notwithstanding half the states in this union are free, yet slavery has increased and is increasing to an alarming degree in our country. The number of slaves has increased within the last fifty years from six hundred thousand to two and a half millions. Thus one sixth of our population are held as mere goods and chattels. They are denied the rights and privileges of men. In almost all the slave states, they are forbidden under the most severe penalties to read even the inspired volume. The marriage contract is not recognised. At any, and every moment, the husband is liable to be torn from the wife, or the wife from the husband, or the children from their parents. All the tenderest ties of nature and of kindred are daily sundered by the ruthless hand of slavery. Several of the northern slave states derive a principal part of their profit from the sale and transportation of slaves to more southern regions. More than one hundred thousand are annually transported from Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, to the cotton, sugar and rice plantations of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, where the rigors of slavery are so cruel as greatly to abridge the period of human life.

Slavery is not only increasing in our country but it is extending its baneful influence to almost every class in society. In years past, we were induced to hope that slaveholders were desirous to embrace a suitable juncture to abolish it; but we are brought to the conclusion from the positive declarations of the leading slaveholders at the south, that the determination of many of them now is, to perpetuate the system. And on what grounds is it defended? On the grounds of *policy, necessity, expediency and christianity*; yes even the *sacred sanctions of our Holy Religion*, are summoned to the defence of a traffic in human flesh. We have, in this christian land, the shocking spectacle exhibited to us of professed ministers of the gospel selling the members of their own religious denominations into interminable bondage. And notwithstanding these northern states have declared their abhorrence of slavery, by abolishing it years since, yet its paralyzing influence has so insinuated itself among us, that many who assume a respectable stand in the community, come out openly in its defence.

In view of this alarming increase of slavery in our beloved country, have the exertions of our society for its abolition been as great, and unremitting, as the nature of the case demands? Are we exerting that moral influence in the righteous cause of emancipation; which was acquired by the faithfulness of our worthy predecessors? Are we taking that high and decided stand on the "uncompromising righteousness of the law of Christ," which should characterize his followers? Are we making those urgent and frequent appeals to the rulers of our country in the cause of suffering humanity, which the exigencies of the case require? Or are we not rather manifesting a degree of apathy, that could not be looked for from the successors of such men as John Woolman, and Anthony Benezet, and those worthy coadjutors of Thomas Clarkson and Wm. Wilberforce? For twenty years did that eminent philanthropist, Thomas Clarkson, labor for the abolition of the slave trade, and the exertions of Friends in Great Britain at that period, were such, as to lead him to say, "that the whole society were with him in this great work." Are we bearing that faithful testimony

against slavery, which the discipline requires, if we are silent on this subject, while many pious people of other religious denominations are using indefatigable exertions to enlighten public opinion, and to terminate this great national evil? And if, by our indifference, we discourage those who are thus engaged, or decline to lend them a helping hand, shall we not put stumbling blocks in their way?

If we are freely partaking of the unrequited labor of slaves, are we actively complying with the following advice of our late yearly meeting?—"This meeting will take an enlarged view of this interesting subject, is sensible that many of its members feel religious scruples in relation to partaking of the produce of the unrequited labor of slaves, and desires that all may be faithful to the requirements of duty, in their varied allotments and means of usefulness."

Is it not to be apprehended that many in our society at the present day, are too much tinctured with the doctrine of *expediency*? What is abstractly wrong, can never be made practically right. There are certain great fundamental principles, which cannot, by any abstract reasoning, be violated with impunity. To plead the cause of the poor and needy, to deal our bread to the hungry, to visit the fatherless and widows in their afflictions, to undo the heavy burden and let the oppressed go free, are standing and imperative duties, which require no special revelation to render obligatory, and which no sophistry or supposed expediency can disannul.

It is not sufficient that the society of which we are members, is clear of the sin of actual slaveholding. If there were moral worth, and christian decision, enough among our predecessors, to bring about so great a reform, as totally to expel the abomination from among us, that influence ought to be concentrated, and brought to bear upon this great and crying sin of our land. Our Saviour characterized his followers as the "salt of the earth," "the light of the world," "a city set on a hill." If we neglect to plead for those who cannot plead for themselves; if we close our eyes to the miseries, and our ears to the lamentations and wailings and woes of millions of our fellow men, shall we have a claim to this exalted character? If our candle be lit by the light of Christ, we are solemnly warned not to "put it under a bushel."

The profession of Christianity lays us under many and important obligations. A mere theoretical belief in Christ is of no avail. Living faith calls for the exercise of active virtues. The practical christian does not merely "look on his own things, but on the things of others;" and considers all mankind, in one sense, as his brethren, and himself under solemn obligations to use all the means in his power, to ameliorate the condition of his fellow-men, of every color, and of every condition in life. It was not the high profession of the priest and the Levite, who could view suffering without compassion, and without relief; but the kind and active offices of the good Samaritan, that gained the approbation of Him, to whom all the actions, and all the motives of men are known.

We have the most solemn warnings laid down in Scripture, to guard us against the sin of omission. When a plain and positive duty is enjoined, no excuses that we can frame can shield us from responsibility.

Although we are sensible that good works of themselves, will not commend us to God; yet it is assuredly a Scripture doctrine, that works of mercy flow from a living faith in Christ. To those who feed the hungry, clothe the naked, visit the sick, and show acts of hospitality to the stranger, the gracious invitation is given, "Come ye blessed of my father." But to those who withhold these tokens of love to God, by a want of love to their fellow men, the solemn warning is given, "Depart from me." "For I was hungry, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick and in prison, and ye visited me not."—"Inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, my brethren, ye did it not to me."

Signed on behalf of Farmington Quarterly Meeting of Friends, held 11th month 9, 1836.

By LINDLEY M. MOORE, } Clerks.

ABIGAIL L. MOORE, }

The express mail of Saturday night, from the South, brought us all the missing slips from Savannah, Charleston and New Orleans. The dates from New Orleans are to the 10th.

The Bulletin, of that date, states, that it is informed from high authority, that the Texan government intends entering a formal complaint before the Cabinet at Washington, against the practice pursued by American citizens of introducing into their territory, in vessels belonging to the United States, negroes coming from other quarters than this Union, and further, that their minister at Washington will be instructed to ask of our government that a vessel be ordered to cruise along their coast, to prevent such introduction of unlawful slaves, and also that a small force be stationed at the mouth of the Sabine, to guard against their being landed on the coast of the United States, and immediately transferred to the Texan territory. Adjacent to the mouth of the Sabine are numerous inlets and coves, where small vessels may easily be concealed, and from these points, at present very remote from any settlement or garrison, it is easy, without the fear of detection, to transport slaves across the Sabine, and thereby escape the laws of both countries, inasmuch as the Constitution of Texas admits of the importation of negroes from the United States, while it prohibits it from every other country. The Congress of Texas will also pass a law, prohibiting the introduction of any but slaves born in the United States.—*Baltimore Chron.*

Revolutionary Anecdote.

The following characteristic anecdote of John Langdon is given in Chastellux's Travels, an edition of which was recently published in New York. At the time of Burgoyne's descent into the state of New York from Canada, Mr. Langdon was a member of the council or Senate of New Hampshire.—Going to the council chamber, he perceived the members about to discuss some affairs of little consequence, and addressed them as follows:

"Gentlemen, you may talk as long as you please; but I know that the enemy are on our frontiers, and I am going to mount my horse, to combat with my fellow-citizens." The greatest part of the members followed him and joined Gen. Gates at Saratoga. As he was marching day and night, reposing himself only in the woods, a negro servant, who attended him said, "Master, you are hurting yourself; but no matter, you are going to fight for liberty—I should suffer patiently also, if I had liberty to defend." "Don't let that stop you," replied Col. Langdon, "from this moment you are free." The negro followed him and behaved with courage, and has never quitted him.

Can that heart be human which would hold an immortal being in bondage? Oh! how sweet is liberty!

A Colored Man.

We cut the following obituary notice of a colored man, from one of the Jamaica papers, we forget which, but it was not the "Watchman," and of course must have been edited by a white man: "With regret we announce the death of Price Watkins, Esq., barrister at law, and a Representative in Assembly for this city and parish. He died at Shrewsbury, (England,) on the 12th ultimo, which melancholy event has deprived the Jamaica Bar of one of its brightest ornaments, and the Legislature of a valuable member. Mr. Watkins's professional talents were much admired.

Human Rights.

Who unto him that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work. *Jeremiah 22: 13.*

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